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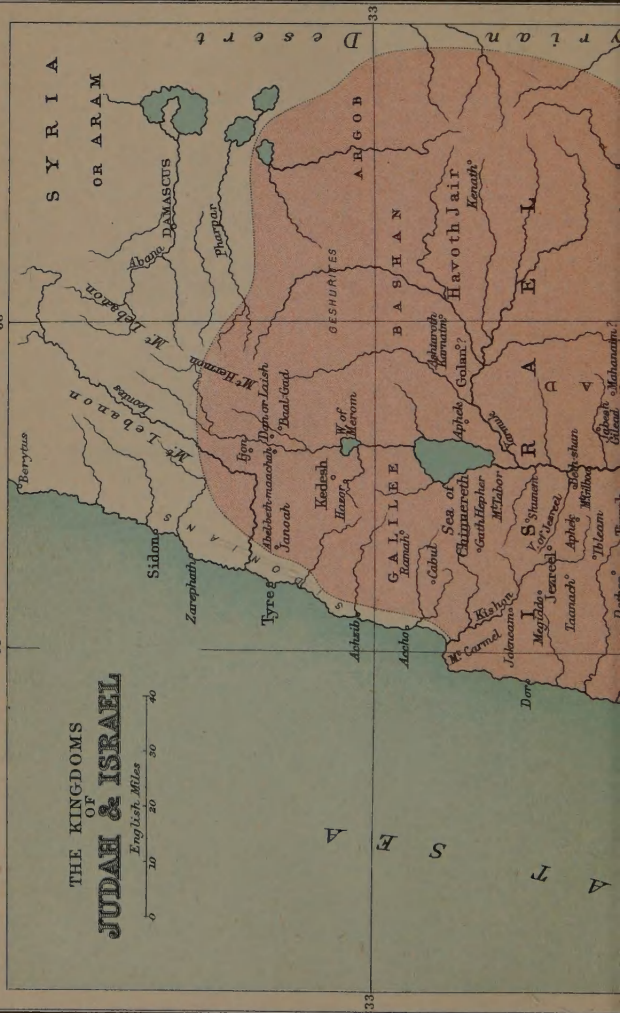
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INTRODUCTION

REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES

INDEX AND MAP

EDITED BY THE REV.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.	I
TEXT OF THE REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS	33
INDEX	327

MAP OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.
PLAN OF JERUSALEM.

THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES

INTRODUCTION

I AND II CHRONICLES

INTRODUCTION

§ I. TITLE AND POSITION OF THE BOOK.

IN our English Bible the Book of Chronicles bears a different title and occupies a different place from that which was originally assigned to it in the Hebrew Scriptures. The reader of the English version naturally regards this ancient history as consisting of two distinct books, which he knows as the 'Books of the Chronicles'; moreover, he finds them placed in a position which is apparently the topically correct one, immediately after the Books of the Kings. In the earliest Hebrew MSS. the entire work formed but one book, bearing the title of 'Events of the Times' and being placed at the very end of the Hebrew Scriptures. These differences are readily explained by the history of the compilation of the O. T.

Turning to the Hebrew Bible we find that the books which compose the O. T. canon were collected into three groups, corresponding roughly to the stages of the divine revelation. The first of these groups, spoken of as 'the Law' (or *Torah*), consisted of the five books which form our Pentateuch. The second group, known by the general title of 'The Prophets' (or *Nəbî'im*), was divided into the 'Former Prophets' and the 'Latter Prophets.' Of these, the 'Former Prophets' included the four Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, while the 'Latter Prophets' included four other collections of writings, viz. the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the twelve (or minor) Prophets. The third group, designated 'Writings' (or *Kethubim*), consisted of the remaining books. This

last group was always regarded as inferior in value to the two groups which preceded it, and the arrangement of the books it contained was entirely topical. First came the three poetical Books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job ; then followed five works, known as the Megilloth (or Rolls), which were read on feast days in the later synagogues, viz. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther ; and finally there came the later historical books, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles.

It is impossible to say precisely at what period of Jewish history this last group of writings was collected, but it is highly probable that they were being gathered together at the very time when the books of the 'Former Prophets' were being put into their present literary form. Still it was by a gradual process and solely on the ground of their intrinsic worth that these 'Latter Prophets' won their way at a comparatively late date to their place in the accepted canon of the Hebrew Scriptures.

But the position which was eventually assigned to the Book of Chronicles in the Hebrew Scriptures was not the same as that which it originally occupied in the MS. of the compiler. Reference to the book itself discloses the fact that the last verse of the book breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The complete sentence is found in the opening verses of the Book of Ezra (i. 1-3), where the whole of the edict of Cyrus is given, whereas the Chronicles only record its opening sentences. Thus Ezra i. 1-3 gives the correct reading of the broken passage which now stands as 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22-23. But we also find that in the older collections of the Hebrew writings the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah formed a single work. And the evident deduction which has been made from these facts is that the two Books of Chronicles together with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah originally constituted one book. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that these books, when read consecutively, are seen to contain a remarkably harmonious compendium of Hebrew history. Briefly summarizing the history of

the chosen race from Adam to David, they present a fairly full account of the fortunes of the Jewish people from David's day to the return from the great Captivity, viewed throughout from the standpoint of a Levite of the second Temple. And the history thus narrated is written in a style which is absolutely unique among the O. T. writings, yet which is quite uniform in the four books. At the same time, the same view of history prevails, and the same interests predominate in them all. These facts are sufficient proof of the original unity of this comprehensive historic work, the Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah; but we have yet to account for their subsequent separation even in Hebrew MSS.

The period of history covered by the Book of the Chronicles had already been treated with approximate fulness and accuracy in the Books of Samuel and Kings (originally another single work). But the narrative of Kings concluded with the captivity of Judah. Hence later generations felt the need of a supplement which treated of the post-exilic period. Consequently some later scribe, finding precisely such a supplement in the concluding portion of the composite work 'Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah,' seems to have divided the MS. in such a way as to be able to add the portion 'Ezra-Nehemiah' to the existing collection of MSS. Somehow it occurred that, when the division was made, the opening verses of 'Ezra' were still copied and allowed to remain in their present truncated form at the end of the Chronicles, with the result already pointed out, that Chronicles ends in the midst of a sentence¹. In course of time, however, the intrinsic value of Chronicles was also recognized, and the standpoint of its author was seen to be so completely in harmony with later Jewish ideas as to give it an increasing importance. Hence it, too,

¹ Kittel, differing from most critics, regards the presence of the opening sentences of the edict of Cyrus at the end of Chronicles as the mere addition of a later scribe who wished to give a more harmonious close to the Judæan history.

found its way into the O. T. canon, being appended to what was in reality originally its own supplement.

The English Bible, however, following the Latin Vulgate, which in turn followed the Greek Version (the Septuagint), has restored the original order of these books and placed the Chronicles immediately after the Kings.

It is to these later Greek and Latin versions, moreover, that we owe the present title of the book. In the Hebrew Scriptures the undivided work of the chronicler was simply entitled 'Events of the Times' (*Dibrê Hayyamîm*). The Greek translators of Alexandria divided the Chronicles into two, making the division very aptly at the end of the reign of David, and styling the two books '*Paraleipomena*' (*Παραλειπόμενα*), which signifies 'supplements' or 'additions.' And, finally, the Dalmatian scholar Jerome, who produced the Latin version known as the Vulgate in the fourth century, gave to these later histories the title '*Liber Chronicorum*,' whence we derive our title 'Chronicles.'

§ 2. CONTENTS OF THE CHRONICLES.

The Book of Chronicles opens with the name of Adam and closes abruptly in the middle of the edict of Cyrus. At the end there stands a note of the scribe (the Massorite) stating that I Chron. xxvii. 25 is the middle verse of the book. This affords one further proof that the present two books originally formed one; yet there is a fairly systematic arrangement of the contents of the work which justifies the division made by the LXX and reveals a deliberate plan on the part of the author.

The work has four main divisions:—

- (1) I Chron. i-ix. Genealogical summary of history from Adam to David.
- (2) I Chron. x-xxix. History of the reign of David.
- (3) 2 Chron. i-ix. History of the reign of Solomon.
- (4) 2 Chron. x-xxxvi. History of the kingdom of Judah from the Disruption to the Return from the Captivity.

(1) In the opening section the chronicler has nothing new to record. He is about to write a history of the Jewish Temple and its cultus; and he determines to preface it by a summary of history from the beginning of the race. In this he confines himself to a series of genealogical tables, most of which are fragmentary, which fall almost naturally into six groups:—

(a) Chap. i. From Adam to Abraham and the Edomites.

(b) Chap. ii–iv. 23. From Israel through Judah to David's line, carried down to a period almost two centuries later than the Captivity.

(c) Chap. iv. 24–v. 26. The families of Simeon and the Trans-Jordanic Tribes.

(d) Chap. v. 27–vi. 66. The families of Levi.

(e) Chap. vii–viii. The families of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, half-Manasseh, Ephraim and Asher.

(f) Chap. ix. The former inhabitants of Jerusalem and the family of Saul.

The chronicler seems to have taken a genuine delight in genealogies and statistics, and to have spared no pains in perfecting his compilation of census returns and tribal family registers. Specially significant in this section is the prominence given to the families of Judah and Levi; and it is noteworthy that in the course of the work we meet time after time with detailed lists of the Levitic choirs and orchestras.

(2) The second section opens with Saul's overthrow on Mount Gilboa. Thence the narrative runs parallel to the histories of Samuel and Kings in a comparatively full account of the reign of David. It omits, however, all notice of David's reign in Hebron and many details of his family history, but lays great stress on matters which concern the Levites and the building of the Temple.

(3) The third section records the reign of Solomon, with a marked emphasis upon the royal achievements in building the Temple and organizing its worship.

(4) The fourth section is occupied with the history of

the kingdom of Judah, which it traces, reign by reign, from Rehoboam to Zedekiah and the Captivity.

In the composition of this work the chronicler evidently wrote with a specific aim, and naturally therefore he employed an intelligent method in the selection of his material. In dealing with earlier histories, whence he compiled his narrative, he was obliged to proceed by a process of selection; consequently, there is significance in his omissions as well as in his additions. With him, it may be said, speech is silver, silence is gold. Every line omitted from the earlier histories is an eloquent testimony to the change of tone which had come over the religious world of Judaea between the days of Zerubbabel, when 'Kings' was compiled, and the days of Alexander the Great, in which the chronicler wrote. Hence the omissions, even when they consist in little more than words, must be studied with care as a revelation of the thought of the age when the work was penned. Among the larger omissions we specially notice that the genealogical summaries pass over the whole history of Abraham, the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan.

In the same way we must carefully note the additions which the chronicler makes to the extant earlier histories. These additions are almost entirely concerned with the history of the Levitic orders, the sanctuary and the religious feasts; or they consist of narratives of warfare which are peculiarly apt for pointing out the results of fidelity and apostasy regarding the Law; or, yet again, they form brief supplements to the older narratives¹. In the case of

¹ Additions to the narrative of Kings.

I. *Narrative Poems*:—

(a) *Heroes of Ziklag and Hebron*: 1 Chron. xii.

(b) *Matters of worship and the Levites*: 1 Chron. xiii, xv, xvi, xxii-xxix; ■ Chron. iv. 6-9, vi. 12, 13, vii. 1 ff., xxix-xxxi, xxxv. 1-17, &c.

(c) *Illustrations of Theodicy*: 1 Chron. xi. 6, 8, 23, xviii. 8, 12; 2 Chron. xiii. 3-21, xiv. 9-15, xv. 1-15, xvi. 7-10, xix. 1-3, xx, xxi. 11-17, xxv. 5-16, &c.

many of these additions, we have reason to believe that the compiler has followed other early authorities with considerable care, and that, although his dominant aim is religious rather than historical, the work has been so composed as to warrant our acceptance of its historical accuracy in all its main statements.

It will be subsequently shown (§ 3) that these peculiarities of omission and addition form an important clue to the person of the author of Chronicles. But it is already evident that he was guided in the selection of his material by the desire of showing the part which Israel's religion had played in the exigencies of the national history. This religious motive of the chronicler appears on almost every page. Thus when he omits as irrelevant all record of the moral lapses and the family feuds which are so inseparable from a correct estimate of the lives of David and Solomon, it is evidently due to his wish to avoid whatever was derogatory to the honour of the theocratic monarchy. Again, in the narratives of the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem, in the priestly enthronement of Joash and in the records of Hezekiah's reign, it is solely the religious aspect of events that is made prominent. And everywhere in the chronicler's work we find the victory or failure of the kings and the prosperity or distress of the people regarded as the reward or punishment of their loyalty or apostasy in reference to the Law of God. The attitude which kings and people assume towards Jehovah is invariably regarded as the prime factor in determining the issue of events, and this attitude is always judged from the standpoint of the Levitic institutions. It thus

II. *Explanatory insertions* :—

- (a) *On Ritual* : 1 Chron. xv. 27^a, 28^b; 2 Chron. v. 11^b–13^a, vi. 13, vii. 6, viii. 13–15, xxiii. 6, 8^b, 13, 18, 19, xxxiv. 9, 12, 13, &c.
- (b) *Moral reflections* : 1 Chron. xxi. 6; 2 Chron. viii. 11^b, xii. 12, xviii. 31^b, xxii. 3^b, 4^b, xxv. 27^a, xxvi. 21, 23, xxvii. 6, xxxiii. 23.

appears that the deliberate aim of the author was to instil in the hearts of his readers a loyalty to Jehovah and a delight in His worship, the validity and urgency of which, to him, found their clearest vindication in the course of Hebrew history.

§ 3. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.

The Book of Chronicles is an anonymous work. Talmudic tradition ascribes it to Ezra, but this is certainly incorrect; and the name of the author must for ever remain unknown. Yet it is possible from internal evidence to learn much concerning the position of the writer and the date of the composition of his work.

The prominence which the chronicler gives to all matters of the history and organization of the Levitic priesthood and the importance which he attaches to everything connected with the national sanctuary and religion make it virtually indubitable that he was himself a member of the Levitic community. No Jewish layman could have written such an historical work, betraying, as it does, the stamp of the Levitic mind and of priestly sympathies on every page. It takes a Levite to read the history of his people from the exclusively Levitic standpoint. Our author, then, was a Levite; but it is highly probable that he was not an ordinary priestly Levite. The frequency of his references to the service of praise in the Temple makes it almost certain that he must have been a member of the Temple choir or orchestra. A devotee to his music, an accomplished statistician, and an enthusiast for the ideals of his order, he may well be compared to some monkish historian of the Middle Ages, viewing life through the tinted windows of the cloister and fired with the ambition to turn to account the lessons of the past as a means to lead men to God. But this musician of the Levitic guilds was also a scholar with a

predilection for historical studies, whose delight it was to scan the treasured annals of his country's more glorious past until the heroes of other days lived anew. His one disqualification for the work of an historian was the absoluteness of his devotion to the Levitic ideals, with the consequent tendency to read back the conditions of his own day into the remote past and to judge an earlier age as though its standards and attainments were identical with his own. It is, of course, difficult to picture the individual who brought the Chronicles into their final form, seeing that personal traits are so few; but he was undoubtedly a man of a genuinely religious nature to whom the law of his God, as he knew it, was the standard of all duty and the guide into all blessedness.

As to the date of composition of Chronicles we are able to speak with some considerable degree of certitude. The prevalent tone of the work is sufficient to indicate at the outset that it is a much later work than the more correctly so-called histories of Samuel and Kings. Great changes had passed over the national life and thought; and the age of the Deuteronomist had given place to that of the Priestly Code. But the nature and contents of the book itself afford a reliable guide to its date.

We have already seen that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah originally constituted a single work and must be attributed as a complete whole to the pen of one author, the final Levitic compiler. Within this composite work there are three passages which afford important clues to the date. The first of these is the genealogy in 1 Chron. iii. 17-24, where the names of the descendants of Zerubbabel are given down to the sixth generation (*vide in loco*); but Zerubbabel was one of the leaders of the exiles who returned from Persia in 538 B.C., so that, reckoning thirty years to a generation, we must date the last-named of his descendants as late as 350 B.C. It is quite probable, however, that the true reading of this passage is the one

preserved by the LXX, Syriac and Vulgate¹, according to which the genealogy represents not six, but eleven, generations. This reading would bring the date down almost to 200 B.C. With this later date the two other passages alluded to (1 Chron. vi. 4-15 and Neh. xii. 10, 11) are in harmony. It will be noticed by reference to these passages that Neh. xii. 10, 11 takes up the list of high priests which 1 Chron. vi. 4-15 left unfinished. (The connecting link between the two is supplied by Neh. xii. 26.) But here we have the register of names carried down through Joshua to Jaddua, who, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 84 f.), was high priest in the days of Alexander the Great. Moreover, in 1 Chron. iii the line of David is traced down as far as this same period. These positive indications of a late date are further confirmed by the fact that (1) the ecclesiastical system which centred around the Priestly Code and which was established by Ezra and Nehemiah in 444 B.C. had been so long recognized in the post-exilic community at Jerusalem that the chronicler assumes its existence as long ago as the time of David; that (2) we possibly have, in 1 Chron. xxix. 7, the reckoning of a sum of money in darics, which implies that this late Persian coin had long been current; and that (3) the use of the title 'King of Persia' in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, in place of the customary early title 'the Great King,' implies that the days of the Persian supremacy were already past.

The earliest date, then, which can be assigned to the Chronicles must be about 300 B.C.

On the other hand, there is absolutely no trace of the magnificent struggle of the Maccabees which distinguished the Jewish history of the second pre-Christian century and revolutionized the religious conditions of the

¹ This meaning has been obtained by reading *בני* for *בנר* four times in v. 21, and also at the end of the verse before the *בני* of v. 22.

land. Consequently we are able, with comparative certainty, to date the compilation of Chronicles between 300 and 250 B. C., and to attribute it to the piety and industry of a Levitical singer of the second Temple.

§ 4. SOURCES OF CHRONICLES.

It is the practice of the chronicler constantly to cite the authorities from which he draws the information he is presenting, or to refer his readers to extant works where they may find a corroboration or supplement of the events he is narrating. Such references to his sources are almost always found at the conclusion of the reign of a king. And, in all, there are citations of twelve such sources which demand our consideration. These may be shown at a glance thus:—

- (1) A Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (2 Chron. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8).
- (2) A Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32).
- (3) A Book of the Kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxiv. 27).
- (4) A Midrash of the Book of Kings (2 Chron. xxiv. 27).
- (5) A History of the Prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (1 Chron. xxix. 29).
- (6) A History of the Prophets Nathan, Ahijah the Shilonite, and Iddo (2 Chron. ix. 29).
- (7) A History of the Prophets Shemaiah and Iddo (1 Chron. xii. 15).
- (8) A Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (2 Chron. xiii. 22).
- (9) A History of the Prophet Jehu (2 Chron. xx. 24).
- (10) Isaiah's History of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22).
- (11) A History of the Prophet Isaiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32).
- (12) A History of the Prophet of Manasseh's day (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19).

Critical opinions have long been at variance as to what these sources precisely were. It seems clear, however, that they fall into two main groups, nos. 1-4 and nos. 5-12, the first group being historical and the second prophetic.

But, while some critics (e.g. Keil) have held that all these represented sources available to the chronicler, others have held that he had recourse to no works which are not available to us to-day. The conclusions which commend themselves most forcibly to the present writer, however, are those reached by Kittel. As to the first group (nos. 1-4), we hold that nos. 1-3 stand for one and the same work, a History of the Kings, which, however, is not our canonical Book of Kings, in that it differs therefrom in numerous ways, but was itself somewhat of the nature of a midrash (or homily) based upon our canonical Kings. No. 4 we take to be another midrash upon the Kings, distinct from the great work, nos. 1-3, and embodying further material.

As to the second group, we conclude, from numerous indications, that all the titles, except 8 and 11, refer to one and the same work; and, further, we conclude that they merely denote sections of the great historical work, 'The Book of the Kings.' This is supported by the fact that the chronicler *never* cites the authority of both 'The Book of the Kings' and the 'Word' &c. of a prophet for any one reign, whereas he refers to one or the other for all the kings except three. It was, moreover, the prevalent Jewish custom to indicate sections of the written history by the names of the prophets living at the time referred to, as when, for example, our Lord asked, 'Have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the Bush?' (Mark xii. 26), or when St. Paul wrote, 'Wot ye not what the scripture saith in Elijah?' (Rom. xi. 2, R. V. marg.). In addition to this we discover that in two cases it is expressly stated that these prophetic narratives form part of the larger historical work. Thus, we read 'The rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in the history of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel' (2 Chron. xx. 34); and again, 'The rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah

the prophet the son of Amoz, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel' (2 Chron. xxxii. 32). Whence we reasonably conclude that in the other instances also the reference is to the sections of the 'Book of the Kings,' rather than to independent works. To this conclusion there are, however, two exceptions: No. 11 was probably identical with our Isaiah i-xxxix; and no. 8, on the analogy of the relation of nos. 5-12 to nos. 1-3, may be held to be part of no. 4.

Thus we reduce our author's main sources to three distinct works: (1) the great history of the Kings; (2) a midrash thereof; and (3) our Isaiah i-xxxix.

Undoubtedly there is a certain close connexion between our canonical Books of Kings and Chronicles in the matter of sources. And regarding this connexion it is noteworthy that each reference in the canonical Chronicles to the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah is paralleled by a reference in the canonical Kings to the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. Moreover, in the cases of the reigns of Ahaziah, Athaliah and Amon, where our Chronicles quotes no authority at all, our Kings also omits to give any reference. It is quite evident that the references in Kings are not to our canonical Chronicles, for it was only written centuries later. And it is equally clear that Chronicles does not allude to the canonical Kings, for information for which we are referred to the 'Book of the Kings' is not found to exist in the canonical Kings (cf. 2 Chron. xxvii. 7). It appears, then, that the canonical Kings sought its material from two distinct sources, 'the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel' for Israel and 'the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah' for Judah: whereas the chronicler obtained his material for the history of the Judæan kings from a combination of these two annals entitled 'the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.' The theory that the chronicler went back to the original sources of the canonical Kings seems to be utterly precluded by the fact that many passages of our Chronicles, where they are identical with

our Kings, actually include those brief notes upon the characters of the monarch which bear every mark of being due to the final redactor of Kings rather than being derived from the originals¹. But as we have seen reason to believe that our chronicler derived his material from a great history of the Kings, which contained matter not found in our Kings, we are shut up to the conclusion that this great work was in a sense the common source of both our canonical books, but that it had been altered by revision and the incorporation of new material between the dates of the composition of our canonical books.

Hence when the chronicler cites authorities it is with the intention of referring his readers to a larger extant work, wherein they would not only find the material contained in the canonical Kings but also confirmation of the numerous additions which he had made thereto in accord with the temper and traditions of his day.

Much of the subject-matter of our Chronicles is evidently original, for it is cast in that late Hebrew which is so typical of the age to which we have assigned the book. And it is probable that this material was worked in both from late ecclesiastical records and from contemporary, unwritten versions of his country's history. While, therefore, attempts have been made to distinguish various Levitic precursors of the chronicler, it seems preferable to follow Dr. Driver in attributing the new matter mainly to the chronicler himself. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish separate and successive redactors in endeavouring to indicate the few passages which seem to be later insertions, although the attempt has been made to indicate two such redactors.

In the treatment of the text, I have followed the course pursued by Kittel, indicating matter due to the chronicler himself, to earlier historic sources, and to later redactions. I have further discriminated between the historical matter

¹ Cf. 2 Chron. xx. 32 = 1 Kings xxii. 43 ; 2 Chron. xxiv. 2 = 2 Kings xii. 3 ; 2 Chron. xxviii. 1-4 = 2 Kings xiv. 2, 5, &c.

derived from sources extant and non-extant. The following lettering is employed in the text :—

Ch. = material due to the chronicler.

Ch.² = material almost wholly rewritten from historical material.

H = material found also in extant O. T. works.

H² = material due to non-extant historical works.

R = work of late redactor.

R² = work of latest redactor.

The process by which the Levitical chronicler of the third century B. C. completes his patchwork from his earlier sources, by moralizing, correcting, supplementing, and adapting, is an indication of the different spirit of his day from that of the Deuteronomist who compiled the canonical Kings. His completed work, based upon written history, midrash, and ecclesiastical tradition, incorporates all that he held most worthy of preservation in the literature that dealt with the Temple, its history, its liturgy, and its ritual¹.

§ 5. DISCREPANCIES DUE TO COMPILATION.

A careful comparison of our Chronicles with the Book of Kings reveals the presence of numerous intentional changes and a large number of discrepancies. These discrepancies occur in regard to the ecclesiastical institutions in early Israel, in regard to the divine blessing or

¹ Dr. Driver gives the following approximate relationship between Kings and Chronicles (cp. *Introd. to Lit. of the O. T.*):

- { 1. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.
- { 2. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.

The canonical
Book of Kings.

'The Book of the Kings
of Israel and Judah.'

The canonical Book of Chronicles.

punishment which followed specific acts of the kings, and in regard to statistics. Each of these deserves special attention.

1. Reading the past from the religious standpoint of his own day, the chronicler displayed almost no conception of the progressive character of revelation or of the gradual development of ecclesiastical institutions. Whereas a true historian would have sought to transplant himself into the spirit and environment of the past, our compiler wrote as though all things had always been precisely as he saw them; and when he supplemented earlier records he often did so from the institutions of his own age. The chronicler seems never to have realized that conduct which he felt bound to condemn might have been sanctioned in the dimmer light of an earlier day. He, therefore, freely altered all that seemed to be in conflict with his own religious ideals, and sought to harmonize the records of the ecclesiastical system existing under the earlier kings with that which prevailed under the Persian satraps. Hence discrepancies were bound to arise. (*a*) In regard to public worship, we have a case in point in the statements concerning the High Places. The writer of Kings states emphatically that neither Asa nor Jehoshaphat removed the High Places (cf. 1 Kings xv. 14, xxii. 43), whereas the chronicler states just as emphatically that, being rulers who kept the Law, they both removed the High Places (cf. 2 Chron. xiv. 5, xvii. 6). (*β*) Many points of difference are presented in passages where religious institutions are concerned, seeing that the chronicler invariably seeks to carry back the ecclesiasticism of his age into that of the monarchy. For instance, the removal of the Ark to Jerusalem by David is represented by the chronicler as being entrusted to the Levites (1 Chron. xv), whereas the writer of Kings makes it the mission of the priests (1 Kings viii. 3) in obedience to Deut. xxxi. 9. Similarly the chronicler cannot tolerate the idea of the Temple guard being composed of Carian mercenaries (2 Kings xi. 4,

R.V.), and consequently replaces them by Levites (2 Chron. xxiii). Other instances of changes due to religious pre-suppositions will be pointed out in the notes.

2. The second class of discrepancies is caused by the chronicler's practice of endeavouring to show that divine retribution followed *immediately* upon wrong-doing, whereas the writer of Kings, who held no such theory of immediate retribution, often speaks of a considerable interval existing. One may instance a few cases. The writer of Kings (1 Kings xxii. 48) represents the merchant fleet which was wrecked at Ezion-geber as being the sole property of the good king Jehoshaphat; but the chronicler, seeking for an immediate cause of so evident a sign of divine displeasure, states that the apostate king of Israel was a partner in the wrecked ships (2 Chron. xx. 35). Again, in 2 Kings iii we read that Jehoshaphat was successful in a campaign in which he was allied with the apostate Ahab against Moab; but, as such a result would be contrary to all his theories, the chronicler omits this war entirely and replaces it by a campaign which Jehoshaphat wages successfully, not through arms, but by the aid of the Levites, against Moab, Ammon and Edom. And, yet again, the calamities which befell the nation under Rehoboam, Asa, Jehoash, Amaziah, Azariah, and Josiah were all accounted for in Chronicles by the insertion of accounts of sin or apostasy of which the author of Kings evidently knew nothing; whereas, conversely, the length of the reign of Manasseh, whom the earlier historian paints in darkest details, is accounted for on the chronicler's part by the assertion that he became a late penitent¹. Such instances make it abundantly evident that the chronicler was so intent upon pointing out the errors or the piety of the early kings of Judah, so eager to teach moral and religious truths, that he fell into the common fault of reading history

¹ 2 Chron. xii. 2-8, xvi. 7-10, xxiv. 23, xxv. 14-16, xxvi. 16-20, xxxv. 21, xxxvi. 15.

in a light which would scarcely be possible to the strict historian.

3. The third class of discrepancies arises in statistics. Here the chronicler's tendency is to overestimate the grandeur of his country's past. Centuries had elapsed since the author of Kings wrote, and later ages had learned to view through magnifying-glasses the glory of the kingdom in the days of its prosperity. As evident exaggerations one may refer to 1 Chron. xxii. 24 (cf. 1 Kings x. 24); 2 Chron. xiii. 3, 17, xiv. 8, 9, xvii. 14-19, xxvi. 13, xxviii. 6, 8. For statistical discrepancies one may compare 1 Chron. xviii. 4, xxi. 5 and xxi. 25 with 2 Sam. viii. 4, xxiv. 9 and xxiv. 24, respectively.

To attribute such discrepancies to a wilful misrepresentation on the part of the chronicler would be manifestly unjust. He wrote in accord with conceptions prevalent in his age and committed to writing the contemporary interpretations of earlier history. When current traditions conflicted with the earlier records it is evident that our author regarded them as more worthy of acceptance than the statements which are found in Kings. It is highly probable that he already found the version he preferred recorded in the main source of his material, 'The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.' And in any case his religious view of history was sufficient justification for him to stress the moral aspect at every point.

A word must be said here regarding the chronicler's doublets. On several occasions we meet with duplicate genealogies and duplicate narratives. In all such cases the chronicler had probably derived them from distinct and divergent sources, and, with an historian's insight, preferred to place them both on record rather than suppress one of them or attempt a harmony. There is always a possibility that additions, including some of these duplicates, may be due to later redactors; yet the late date at which Chronicles was compiled makes it practically certain that the work has undergone no serious redaction, but has

come down to us in very much the same form in which it left the hand of the Levitic author of the third pre-Christian century.

§ 6. THE CHRONICLER AS AN HISTORIAN

In all problems relating to the Books of Kings and Chronicles it is essential to keep in mind the fact that some three centuries had elapsed between the dates of their composition. The earlier history may be dated about 550 B.C. and the later possibly as late as 250 B.C.

It is scarcely possible to overstate the changes which had taken place in the life of the Jewish community during these three centuries. For the first two centuries after the Exile Judaea had ranked as a minor province of the Persian empire; and, when Alexander the Great conquered Persia in 333 B.C., the Jews offered only a feeble resistance to his authority and thereafter continued to hold the same relations with the Macedonian rulers as with their Persian predecessors. But during this period there had occurred events of such momentous import as the return from the Exile under Zerubbabel and Joshua in 536 B.C., the building of the second Temple, 536-520 B.C., and the establishment of the Deuteronomic régime under Ezra and Nehemiah in 444 B.C. It was in 401 B.C., moreover, that Xenophon and his 'Ten Thousand' had carried the Grecian arms into the heart of the Persian empire; and when that empire began to show signs of decay, a fierce revolt, sternly repressed, had broken out in Judaea during the year 350 B.C. Meantime Judæan life had been stirred by the mission of some of its greatest prophets, and Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Joel had successively uttered their messages to the people. The Pentateuch, moreover, had been put into its present form, the works of the 'Former Prophets' collected, and the great Song-Book of the Second Temple compiled.

The magnitude of such events was sufficient to render the national life and thought a very different thing from

what it was in the days of the Hebrew monarchy. Not only was the reign of the latest Jewish king as remote from the chronicler's day as the reign of Edward VI is from ourselves, but the intellectual and moral horizon of the people had completely changed. The influence of Babylon and its Persian rulers, and, later on, the influence of the Grecian world, had made a remarkable impression upon the Jewish communities. Even the language had changed, as the vernacular Aramaic supplanted the ancient Hebrew speech. But most important of all for our present purpose is the fact that the law as established by Ezra and Nehemiah had entirely remoulded the religious thought and the religious institutions of the people. The Hebrew monarchy had been replaced by an order of things so different that the conditions of the national past could no longer be correctly appreciated. The priestly system had been installed where once stood the theocratic monarchy. Ecclesiasticism dominated the whole life of the community.

How natural, then, that a devout scholar of the all-powerful Levitical community should read the early history of his people, as penned in the days of the Exile, in an unsympathetic way and should imagine it to be full of primitive ideas and defective statements! And how natural that he should determine to rewrite the story of his country from the point of view of the civilization and the church of his day, omitting all irrelevant subjects and merely seeking to make the past, with God's relation to history, intelligible to his contemporaries! We have already seen him at his work and noted his sources and manner of compilation. We are now compelled to look at his finished work and inquire whether it is genuine history and what is its religious value.

In facing such questions, one must admit at the outset that it is perfectly credible that, in the course of a progressive historical revelation, God should raise up successive religious thinkers who would view the divine intent in history from standpoints varying according to the moral

attainments of the age in which they lived. It would accord neither with human intelligence nor with the historical character of divine revelation to presuppose that the numerous independent estimates of God's dealings with men must display an absolute uniformity and an unvarying richness of insight. The one Spirit who guided the unfolding of the divine purpose through many channels has given a fulness to our conception of the truth which only diversity could impart.

Hence we expect that the estimate of Hebrew history formed prior to the Exile will differ from the estimate formed after it. And, similarly, the later historian who traced a divine purpose in the events of the Captivity would be almost compelled to rewrite the early history of his people less as history than as what is known as religious pragmatism (i.e. as the interpretation of God's ways in history). When we look at the Book of Samuel we discover that it was originally compiled from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic legislation. On the other hand, the compiler of the Book of Kings, as we now have it, while himself also a Deuteronomist, evidently wrote in that spirit of the first exilic prophets which is so eloquently expressed by Zechariah when he asks: 'Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever? But my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers?' (Zech. i. 5, 6). In Kings, and subsequently in Chronicles, the dominant interest of the compilers is religious, and a firm belief in the principle of divine retribution underlies their reading of history. Evidently, then, we can only do justice to the chronicler by first understanding and then for the moment assuming his particular religious attitude towards the history of his race.

We face the chronicler's work remembering that Jerusalem had ceased to be the head of an independent state and had become merely 'a municipality governed by a church.' In so far as the Jewish people survived as a

nation at all, they lived on the recollections of the past. For the member of the post-exilic community everything centred in the Temple-service and the written law. And in this ecclesiastical system the main element was the Levitic priesthood. But the chronicler reveals the fact that he was a Levite and a Temple-musician, whose mind was saturated with the Levitic spirit. And it would be manifestly impossible for such a man to read the earlier histories of Samuel and Kings without feeling much in them was defective and much absolutely misleading. The difference of view does not necessarily imply that the later estimate of events would be the more accurate one, but merely that it would be coloured by later religious conceptions. And of necessity that would happen which actually has happened. The chronicler would feel compelled to omit or explain everything in the earlier histories that conflicted with the completed Penta-teuch, which he possessed and his literary precursors did not; and he would feel resistlessly impelled to give to the Temple and its ministrants the importance which, from the viewpoint of his own age, he felt they must have possessed in earlier ages. To him it would seem evident that the divine intent had been unfolded through the house of David alone, and he would consequently ignore the northern kingdom and omit all matters which seemed foreign to the purpose of God as revealed by the events of the Exile and Restoration. This simply means that the chronicler was an eclectic writer whose purpose it was to write of the religious significance of history rather than to write the history, as such, of his people. He realized that there was a crying need for such a work as this to meet the temper of his day, and, in endeavouring to supply the want, his determination to write history was practically lost in his attempt to convey the moral lessons of the past. Although he bases his work upon earlier documents, he seems on almost every page to interject paragraphs which convey the religious interpretation of

events. In effect he cries : ' Do you not see that God was in all this, and that such and such causes and consequences must have been involved !'

In a sense very much of this is equally true of the compiler of Kings, in that he too worked up the historical material at his disposal as a pragmatist. But the Deuteronomic author of Kings seems to have had a far higher regard for historical accuracy than had the Levitic pragmatist who compiled the Chronicles ; and when events failed at once to exemplify divine retribution the author of Kings simply stated the facts and left the future to vindicate the right, whereas the chronicler felt unable to leave any statement in so bare and uncommented a form.

But if we inquire of the work of the chronicler whether this is history in the modern sense, it must be frankly admitted that it does not accord with all the canons of genuine historical writings. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that where the author of Kings gives us history the author of Chronicles often gives us merely 'midrash.' And the chronicler's interpretation of the past has even been described by a modern critic as merely 'teaching by anachronism.' Yet he has done more than write a work in harmony with the spirit of Hebrew midrash ; he has actually made a compilation from the midrash of earlier writers. Consequently, where there are divergences from the earlier records in statements of fact, the weight of authority lies invariably with the 'Former Prophets' rather than with the 'Latter Prophets.' At the same time it must be pointed out that the discrepancies between Chronicles and the earlier histories have been vastly overstated, and that the majority of critics are now prepared to concede the historical accuracy of the greater part of the work of the chronicler. Many illustrations of its reliability might be given. For instance, we find in the genealogies and statistics many proofs that the chronicler sought honestly and laboriously to present the matter in hand with all the critical accuracy possible in the light of his day. We

are not warranted, therefore, in treating his records with the contempt displayed by so many critics; and it must be admitted that the author's compilations of names and figures assist us materially in depicting the post-exilic community.

Moreover, the chronicler rendered an invaluable service to his generation by presenting history in a, to them, modern light; for all that he wrote was, so far as contemporary learning rendered it possible, genuine history on the whole. The care shown in the genealogical records reveals a mind in which a great reverence for the past unites with an earnest appreciation of the religious experiences of the present. All that he wrote was in harmony with conceptions prevalent amongst all Hebrew thinkers of his day; and his statements and figures were as accurate as his sources and environs enabled him to make them. Hence, even to-day, Chronicles not only has a priceless religious value, but remains as a reliable record of the position of religious thought in the Hebrew community three centuries B. C.

To the modern student Chronicles is an invaluable guide to a correct and reverent criticism of the rest of the Old Testament, and an interpreter of the silent centuries which preceded the Maccabees. It will only hold its correct place in the student's regard when he admits that historical accuracy weighed less in the compiler's purpose than the desire to indicate how God had wrought in other days. Wherefore we should really study the work as an interpreter of Jewish faith in the ages when the voice of prophecy was dying and man had little religious light save the long-kindled expectation of the Messiah, whose advent still lay three centuries ahead.

It will be seen, then, that while we are not disposed to rank Chronicles with pure history so much as with pious and reverent 'midrash,' we are still as far removed as possible from the attitude of such critics as de Wette, Stade, and Wellhausen in their contemptuous denial of the historical value of the book.

§ 7. RELIGIOUS POSITION OF THE CHRONICLER.

The Chronicles reveal throughout the fact that their author was a devout man and that he had attained to settled convictions concerning the divine government of the world; whence we are able to make certain statements regarding his religious position.

We observe in his work an *added sense of awe*, over and above what is found in Kings, when he deals with holy things. This appears generally in little things, such as the more frequent use of such phrases as 'the Ark of God' for 'the Ark of Jehovah,' and the addition of significant words such as 'with men' in the query 'Will God in very deed dwell on the earth?' (cf. 2 Chron. vi. 18, and 1 Kings viii. 27). Yet this sense of reverence pervades the whole work in a remarkable degree; and it certainly has something to do with the different method of representing the origin of the Davidic census.

Further, in the chronicler's eyes, there is an *added sanctity about* everything connected with *the Temple* and the organization of the national worship. The High Places are viewed with stronger disapproval than ever. The sacredness of the shrine where Jehovah had manifested Himself is shown by the title 'Holy of Holies.' The utmost care is given to the description of all matters of ritual. And yet the chronicler is no mere ritualist; for there are times when he admits that the attitude of the heart stands for more than does the legitimacy of the method of worship (cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 18).

But the outstanding fact about the chronicler is that he takes a *religious view of history*. He views the same facts with the author of Kings, but he always endeavours to go behind the scenes and understand the divine *rationale* of events. He has, too, a very definite conception of the inerrancy of Jehovah's justice and the infallibility of His law of retribution. Hence when royal or national disaster occurs, the chronicler puts his finger on

the spot and indicates the moral flaw which caused it. And on the other hand, when kings were loyal to Jehovah, he seeks to pile up his records of the divine blessings which were bestowed upon them. Still he is not, even here, so hard and fast a theorist as to present a cast-iron system. Once at least he records a mystery which baffles him—the overthrow of Josiah the good—and he leaves the reader to face the tragedy of Megiddo in only partial light. But no fact is more patent than that from dawn to dusk of his country's history the chronicler reads 'God,' and that he endeavours so to select his material and so to present it as to teach to his readers the one great fact of God's presence with men through all the exigencies of history.

One must not fail to notice, too, how firmly this writer holds the doctrine of 'the purpose of God according to election.' He does not, indeed, formulate any such dogma as we are accustomed to understand by the term 'election'; but he traces the evolution of the divine purpose from Adam to the edict of Cyrus in such a way that he consigns to oblivion the men and races which failed historically to hold a place in that evolution. As an outstanding example of this we may note the way in which he ignores the existence of the kingdom of Northern Israel.

Yet he is strong also in his 'doctrines of Grace.' Amid the recurring fickleness and apostasy of Judaea, he represents God as continually repenting of the evil threatened and turning back to bless the penitent. To him, God is always wooing the sinner by His prophets and always seeking to save. And it is only when kings and people have dragged their country under the heel of the Chaldean that He is represented as abandoning them to their deserts¹.

We may, perchance, take up Chronicles to study history; but we shall, if we rightly understand it, lay it down with

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16.

the realization that we have seen into the heart of a man of God and come face to face with God Himself in the open air of history.

§ 8. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE VERSIONS.

As to the language in which the Chronicles was penned, we find on every page traces that it is written in late Hebrew. So far as it consists of original matter, and not compilations, its language is that which prevailed subsequent to the age of Nehemiah. New words are used freely, and old words appear with new significations. The syntax is harsher and cruder than that of classic Hebrew, and is full of affinities with the incoming Arabic speech. One cannot escape the conviction that the author wrote in a language which was no longer living, but stood to the ancient Hebrew speech much as the ecclesiastical Latin of the Middle Ages stood to the tongue of Cicero.

The original text of Chronicles, like that of every book of the O.T., is still a question of some uncertainty, and the efforts of scholars are constantly directed towards discerning the correct readings of the Hebrew. The frequency of doubtful readings is due to the fact that these books must certainly have been copied and recopied many times before the date of the first printed Hebrew Bible. The earliest Hebrew MS. of which we know the age is dated 916 A.D., and critics are agreed that the original of all existing copies of the O.T. was a single MS. which was adopted as a standard copy some time in the second or third century of our era. As the interval between the compilation of Chronicles and the production of our earliest MSS. is shorter than that in the case of most other books of the O.T., there is a natural assumption that fewer mistakes would creep in through transcription. And, although the textual criticism of Chronicles is a peculiarly complicated problem, the text is less corrupt than that of many other books, and many of its errors can be readily corrected by the aid of Samuel and Kings.

The most important external witness to the original text is the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures which was made some time about the year 200 B.C. for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria. This version is known as the Septuagint (LXX)¹, and is of incomparable value for all matters of textual criticism. It was the Bible used in the time of Christ and generally quoted in the N.T. Its value lies in the fact that from about 200 B.C. its history ran parallel to that of the Hebrew text, so that any later changes in the Hebrew can usually be noted by comparison with the Greek version. It is frequently evident that the LXX version has been made from a Hebrew text which differed considerably from the Hebrew which has come down to us. When these passages are retranslated into Hebrew they consequently form a valuable indication of the original reading at the date when the earliest Greek version was made. It then becomes the task of the critic to determine which reading is preferable by applying the rules of textual criticism. Each passage in question requires to be examined upon its own merits, and no general rule can be laid down as to whether the Hebrew or the Greek is to be preferred. And we shall note and discuss all important differences in the course of our annotation of the text. But there is an important fact to be reckoned with in our treatment of the LXX, viz. that it has in its turn undergone numerous revisions², during which later scholars laboured under the resistless tendency to bring the Greek more and more into harmony with the accepted Hebrew text. In the result we see that a Greek version may often have a stronger claim to be original just when it differs most from the Hebrew text. It has hitherto been impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the original text of the

¹ Cf. Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, 1900; and Driver's *Notes*.

² Cf. Skinner on *Kings*, *Introd.* § 7.

LXX; but, in our textual criticism of the Hebrew, there are two parallel editions of the Greek, representing two distinct classes of MSS., which may be used with confidence. There is, firstly, the version known as LXX (B), found in the MS. at the Vatican, and printed in the edition of Swete. And there is, secondly, the version known as LXX (L), generally held to be derived from Lucian of Antioch, and printed in the edition of Lagarde.

In addition to the Greek version, we have the valuable testimony of the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHRONICLES¹.

Year of Accession B.C.		Length of Reign.
± 1025 . .	Saul	15 (or 40) yrs.
1010 . .	David	40 years.
971 . .	Solomon	40 "
932 . .	Rehoboam	17 "
916 . .	Abijah	3 "
914 . .	Asa	41 "
874 . .	Jehoshaphat	25 "
850 . .	Jehoram	8 "
843 . .	Ahaziah	1 "
843 . .	Athaliah	7 "
837 . .	Joash	40 "
798 . .	Amaziah	9 ¹ "
790 . .	Uzziah	52 "
749 . .	Jotham (with Uzziah)	11 "
. .	" (alone)	5 "
735 . .	Ahaz	16 "
720 . .	Hezekiah	29 "
692 . .	Manasseh	55 "
638 . .	Amon	2 "
637 . .	Josiah	31 "
607 . .	Jehoahaz	3 months.
607 . .	Jehoiakim	11 years.
597 . .	Jehoiachin	3 months.
597 . .	Zedekiah	11 years.
587 . .	Fall of Jerusalem.	
537 . .	Edict of Cyrus.	

¹ For full discussion cf. Skinner on *Kings*, Introd., § 7, in *Century Bible*.

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THE
BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE FIRST BOOK

OF

THE CHRONICLES

[Ch²] ADAM, Seth, Enosh ; Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared ; 1

I. FIRST PART

1—ix. Genealogical Summary from Adam to David.

THE first nine chapters form an introduction to the chronicler's history of the Jewish people and of their Temple. This introduction takes the form of genealogical summaries, following the mode often employed in literature of the period. But even here the author is guided by an eclecticism which reveals at the outset the aim which actuates him in rewriting his people's history. The aim thus revealed is to trace the channels which the Divine will had employed in executing the purpose of God and establishing His Church among men.

The book opens with the name of Adam, the fountain-head of the race. The first chapter is devoted to the patriarchs from Adam through Seth to Abraham and his sons, amongst whom a surprisingly large space is given to the Edomites. From this point on to chap. iv. 23 it is the tribe of Judah and the line of David that receive paramount consideration. Most of the tribes of Israel are subsequently dealt with, but amongst them the largest space, after Judah, is devoted to Levi and Benjamin. Emphasis is laid upon the importance of the Aaronic priesthood by a double genealogy from Eleazar to Ahimaaz, and by the entire omission of the house of Eli. The records then close with a list of the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the ministrants of the Temple. Such summaries in themselves are sufficient indication that the chronicler read history from the Levitic standpoint, and that, from such a standpoint, he was prepared to insist that 'through the ages one unceasing purpose runs.'

In prefacing his work by this condensed review of early history the compiler of the originally undivided work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, has produced a consecutive history of the Jewish race from Adam almost down to the days of Alexander the Great. Moreover, this Levitic history runs parallel to the Deuteronomic history, recorded in the Pentateuch and the 'Former Prophets,' in

which the rise and fortunes of the people are recorded from Adam to the great Exile.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the existence of such abundant genealogical material as the chronicler evidently found ready to his hand. Israel, like other early pastoral races, laid stress upon the preservation of family records. When the people became a settled nation the preservation of these records was maintained as strictly as ever, and seems even to have been supervised by the State. Further, the Exile, which destroyed the State, rather enhanced than enfeebled the jealousy with which these early registers were kept; and not only were old records carefully preserved, but new ones were evidently compiled during the Exile.

That the chronicler's genealogies have been pieced together from many sources is evident from the fact that they are not free from discrepancies and duplicates. That they have been compiled with unique care is seen in the preservation of every shred of evidence entitling a man to national and priestly privileges, even when this involved the retention of alternative genealogies in several instances. Nothing seems to have been omitted which bore upon the Divine purpose of singling out the house of Levi for special eminence in the Jewish Church; and little is inserted that deals with families seemingly passed over by the Divine plan. Yet, at the same time, the large space given to the genealogies of the favoured tribes may be partially accounted for by other reasons, viz. that the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin constituted the bulk of the people who returned from the Exile with Ezra. But it is to be carefully noted that the only lines which are traced without a break to the days of the Exile are the lines of David and of the high-priests of Eleazar's house.

(1) i. *Genealogies of the Patriarchal Period.*

The genealogies of ch. i are a mosaic formed by transcription and condensation from Genesis; thus:—

Verses 1-4	...	...	Gen. v.
„ 5-23	...	...	„ x. 2-4, 6-8, 13-18 ^a , 22-29.
„ 24-27	...	...	„ xi. 10-26.
„ 29-31	...	...	„ xxv. 13-16.
„ 32, 33	...	...	„ xxv. 1-4.
Verse 34	...	...	„ xxv. 19.
Verses 35-42	...	...	„ xxxvi. 1-30.
„ 43-50	...	...	„ xxxvi. 31-39.
„ 51-54	...	...	„ xxxvi. 40-43.

i. 1-4. *From Adam to Noah and his sons.* The names of the ten patriarchs and the three sons of Noah are excerpted from 'the book of the generations of Adam,' Gen. v. They stand without any indication of the relationship existing between them.

Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech; Noah, Shem, Ham, and 3,4 Japheth.

[H] The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and 5 Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Diphath, and 6 Togarmah. And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and 7 Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim.

The sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, Put, and 8 Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, 9 and Sabta, and Raama, and Sabteca. And the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan. [R] And Cush begat 10 Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. [R²] And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and 11 Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim 12

2. **Kenan:** LXX Kainan, which seems to represent the Aramaic pronunciation of the Hebrew. Hebrew was a dead language at the time when the LXX version was made.

4. The LXX omits 'sons of Noah' after the name of the Patriarch: cf. Gen. x. 1.

i. 5-23. *Noah and his descendants.* The seventy-one names of the descendants of the three sons of Noah include both individuals and tribes. First come fourteen races descended from Japheth (verses 5-7), then thirty-one descended from Ham (verses 8-16), and, lastly, twenty-six descended from Shem (verses 17-23). This enumeration accounts for the entire racial population of the world according to the ethnography of the chronicler's day. The omission of some of the notes of relationship (e.g. verse 17: cf. Gen. x. 23) implies the accessibility of the register whence the names are culled. The same fact may account for the omission of the founding of the great Chaldean cities of Gen. x. 10, 11 and the retention of such insignificant statements as the meaning of the name of Peleg (verse 19).

Verses 11-23 are lacking in the LXX(B), with the exception of the opening phrase of verse 17, 'The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur.' This fact, added to the fact that the presence of these verses gives us a duplicate genealogy of the Shemites (cf. verses 24-27), affords conclusive proof that the passage is the insertion of a later redactor.

6. **Diphath:** orthographical error for Riphath: cf. Gen. x. 3.

7. **Rodanim:** correct, in spite of Dodanim of Gen. x. 4.

(from whence came the Philistines), and Caphtorim.

13, 14 And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth; and
15 the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Gergashite; and
16 the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite; and the
Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.

17 The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad,
and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and
18 Meshech. And Arpachshad begat Shelah, and Shelah
19 begat Eber. And unto Eber were born two sons: the
name of the one was Peleg; for in his days the earth was
20 divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. And
Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth,
21, 22 and Jerah; and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah; and
23 Ebal, and Abimael, and Sheba; and Ophir, and Havilah,
and Jobab. All these were the sons of Joktan.

24, 25 [Ch²] Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah; Eber, Peleg, Reu;
26, 27 Serug, Nahor, Terah; Abram (the same is Abraham).
28 The sons of Abraham; Isaac, and Ishmael.

29 These are their generations: [H] the firstborn of
Ishmael, Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mib-
30 sam, Mishma, and Dumah, Massa; Hadad, and Tema,
31 Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. These are the sons of
Ishmael.

20. Hazarmaveth: the name literally means 'court of death.' Possibly it is a place-name referred subsequently to an eponymous ancestor (Bennett).

i. 24-27. *From Shem to Abraham.* A list of the lineal descendants of Shem, omitting notes of relationship.

27. Abram (the same is Abraham): LXX simply reads 'Abraham'; the addition in the Hebrew text is probably intended to refer the reader to the history of Abraham in the Pentateuch.

i. 28-34. *The Sons of Abraham.* The sons of Ishmael are given first, those of Isaac last, and the sons of Abraham by Keturah are inserted in the middle.

And the sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine: she ³² bare Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. And the sons of Jokshan; Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and ³³ Ephraim, and Hanoah, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the sons of Keturah.

[Ch²] And Abraham begat Isaac. The sons of Isaac; ³⁴ Esau, and Israel.

The sons of Esau; Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and ³⁵ Jalam, and Korah. The sons of Eliphaz; Teman, and ³⁶ Omar, Zephi, and Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna, and Amalek. The sons of Reuel; Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and ³⁷ Mizzah. And the sons of Seir; [H] Lotan and Shobal ³⁸ and Zibeon and Anah, and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan. And the sons of Lotan; Hori and Homam: and Timna ³⁹ was Lotan's sister. The sons of Shobal; Alian and ⁴⁰ Manahath and Ebal, Shephi and Onam. And the sons of Zibeon; Aiah and Anah. The sons of Anah; Dishon. ⁴¹ And the sons of Dishon; Hamran and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. The sons of Ezer; Bilhan and ⁴² Zaavan, Jaakan. The sons of Dishan; Uz and Aran.

32, 33. Through Keturah the Midianite clans were connected with Israel.

34. Esau and Israel: LXX(B) reads 'Jacob and Esau,' though LXX (L) retains the reading of the Hebrew.

35-42. Clans of Edom and Seir. We must note the condensed narrative form of verse 36, which is misleading to a modern reader, although intelligible to one who had access to the earlier records. Timna is named among the sons of Eliphaz; she is really his concubine, and Amalek is her son (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 12). Again, note that in verses 35-37 we have the names of the heads of the thirteen clans of Esau, followed by the names of the seven aboriginal tribe-leaders of Seir, with whom the conquering Edomites blended to form the twenty dukedoms of Edom. These facts reveal to us the general character of these genealogical summaries and their tendency to group names of individuals, clans, and places on an equal footing and without discrimination.

43 Now these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel: Bela the son of Beor; and the name of his
 44 city was Dinhabah, And Bela died, and Jobab the son
 45 of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the Temanites
 46 reigned in his stead. And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, which smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city
 47 was Avith. And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah
 48 reigned in his stead. And Samlah died, and Shaul of
 49 Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. And Shaul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his
 50 stead. And Baal-hanan died, and Hadad reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was Pai: and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the
 51 daughter of Me-zahab. And Hadad died. And the dukes of Edom were; duke Timna, duke Aliah, duke
 52 Jetheth; duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon;
 53, 54 duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar; duke Magdiel, duke Iram. These are the dukes of Edom.

2 [Ch²] These are the sons of Israel; Reuben, Simeon,

i. 43-50. *Kings of Edom.*

43. The LXX simply reads, 'And these were their kings, Balak son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba.' This was probably the original text.

51-54. *Dukes of Edom.* It is again evident, from the inclusion of female names and tribal names in the list of dukes, that districts are referred to rather than individuals. The original, Gen. xxxvi. 40-43, bears this out. Moreover, the number of the thirteen dukes is reduced to eleven in this passage, which names the clan-districts.

(2) ii-iv. 23. *Sons of Israel and the tribe of Judah.*

Throughout these genealogical tables the aim of the chronicler has been less strictly genealogical than geographical. He has

Levi, and Judah, Issachar and Zebulun; Dan, Joseph² and Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad and Asher.

The sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah: which³ three were born unto him of Bath-shua the Canaanitess.

[H] And Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD; and he slew him. [Ch²] And Tamar his⁴

endeavoured to explain the origin of the distribution of the population, and has consequently blended the names of personal ancestors with eponymous ancestors. Many of the names in these three chapters consequently stand for tribes which became incorporated with Judah at some point in its history; and the long-recognized fact of this complete fusion with alien tribes is here expressed by the prevalent method of genealogical tables.

The chronicler devotes these two and a half chapters to the all-powerful tribe of Judah. And it is noticeable that in ch. ii and ch. iv we have two independent and parallel genealogies of the tribe. Many of the names found are common to both records. Evidently, then, we have here a case of doublets; and the two tables should probably be regarded as the genealogies accepted at two different periods, both of which the compiler held to be worthy of preservation.

In this section we find a treatment of the genealogy of the three sons of Judah, Shalah, Pharez, and Zerah, the descendants of Pharez being divided into two lines founded by Hezron and Hamul. The descendants of Hezron are traced with great care through David to the house of Zerubbabel, and considerable space is given to the lines of Caleb and Jerahmeel. The section is completed with other fragmentary records of the sons of Pharez and Shelah.

The material for these genealogies is drawn from extant O. T. sources thus:—

1 Chron. ii. 1, 2	...	Gen. xxxv. 23-26.
" ii. 3-5	...	Gen. xxxviii. 2-7, 29, 30; xli. 12.
" ii. 6-8	...	1 Kings iv. 31; Joshua vii. 1.
" ii. 10-12	...	Ruth iv. 19-21.
" ii. 13-17	...	1 Sam. xvi. 6-13; 2 Sam. ii. 18; xvii. 25.
" iii. 1-9	...	2 Sam. iii. 2-5; v. 5, 14-16.
" iii. 10-16	...	Kings.

(a) ii. 1, 2. *Sons of Israel.* Dan is assigned a place immediately after the sons of Leah, differing from the position given in Genesis.

(b) ii. 3-5. *Sons of Judah.*

3. LORD: whenever the Divine name is thus printed in four

daughter in law bare him Perez and Zerah. All the sons
 5 of Judah were five. [H] The sons of Perez; Hezron
 6 and Hamul. [Ch] And the sons of Zerah; Zimri, and
 Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dara: five of them
 7 in all. And the sons of Carmi; Achar, the troubler of
 Israel, who committed a trespass in the devoted thing.
 8,9 And the sons of Ethan; Azariah. [H²] The sons also

capitals it represents the name Yahweh (Jehovah) of the original. The name stands for the self-existent deity. It is probably derived from the imperfect tense of the Hebrew verb 'to be' (cf. 'I am that I am'), but the reverence with which the name was treated led to the substitution of the word Lord ('Adonai') in its place in speech and reading. Hence the original pronunciation was lost; and our word Jehovah merely represents the consonants of the original word pronounced with the vowels of 'Adonai.

(c) ii. 6-8. *Descendants of Zerah.* Nowhere else do we find the five sons of Zerah (verse 6) named together; but four of them are given in 1 Kings iv. 31 (i. e. 1 Kings v. 11 of the Hebrew Bible), as wise men of fame in Solomon's day. There the two latter are called sons of Mahal, and it is by no means certain that they are here represented as 'sons of Zerah' in the real sense. Probably steps in the genealogy have been omitted. There is no reason for identifying Ethan and Heman, who are probably the authors of Psalms lxxxviii and lxxxix, with the Levites so named in 1 Chron. xv. 17, 19, of whom the chronicler gives a very different genealogy in ch. vi; whereas he would have been predisposed to claim these psalmists as Levites had it been possible. However, these men were of sufficient note to be named with the few prominent descendants of Zerah who are here selected for mention.

7. devoted thing: Heb. *hērem*, LXX 'anathema': denotes any person or thing devoted to Jehovah by being destroyed; e. g. the gold of Jericho. Achan violated the taboo of Joshua and thus merited the name of Achar, 'troubled': the reference is to Joshua vii. 1.

(d) ii. 9-41. *Descendants of Hezron.* The families of Hezron are not given in the order of seniority of their heads. Moreover the chronicler is still frequently stating tribal relationships rather than personal connexions. He is reading backward from his own day in order to explain the local situations of the members of this important clan.

of Hezron, that were born unto him ; Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai. And Ram begat Amminadab ; 10

9. Jerahmeel probably represents a tribe of the S.-E. Negeb, in the far south of Palestine, which united its fortunes to those of Judah during the later wanderings of the Exodus. They subsequently occupied the south of Judah from the time of the Conquest to the Captivity, and became completely fused with the tribe in religion and in history.

Ram was evidently the lineal descendant of Hezron and is the Aram of LXX and Matt. i. 3.

Chelubai : i. e. Caleb. He is always spoken of as a Kenezite (cf. Num. xxxii. 12), i. e. one of Edomite extraction (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 11). He is the hero of the Conquest and the head of the clan which, along with the Jerahmeelites, identified itself with Judah and occupied the region of Hebron.

The genealogies of these 'sons of Hezron' present various difficulties. (a) They are not given in the order of primogeniture. (b) The descendants of Caleb are given in three different forms in verses 18-24, 42-49, and 50-55. (c) In verses 25 and 27 Ram is represented as the son, not the younger brother, of Jerahmeel. Evidently the chronicler's original plan has been upset, and we are compelled (with Kittel) to assign verses 18-24, 34-41 and 50-55 to a later redactor. This leaves records of the three sons of Hezron with which the chronicler set out in verse 9. Wellhausen would also refer verses 10-17 ('the sons of Ram') to another source than the work of the chronicler (cf. *Hist.* p. 216 ff.), and we discuss this below. Further, verses 42-49 must probably be read as describing the pre-exilic locations of the Calebites, while 50-55 describe their post-exilic abodes.

ii. 10-17. *The Descendants of Ram.* It is quite probable that the descendants of Ram are placed first among the sons of Hezron because they represent the royal line of David. Moreover, the confusion evident throughout the chapter, with its fragmentary records, renders it probable that the chronicler only found the genealogies of Jerahmeel and Caleb in his ancient source, and that he went to Ruth iv (the only extant genealogy of David which carried the succession down below Jesse, and itself a late work) for his tables of the posterity of Ram. It is possible that the chronicler was led to compile this original genealogy of Ram by confusing, in the first instance, the son of Hezron and the eldest son of Jerahmeel (cf. verse 27). Further, as a period of some 830 years separated the Exodus from the days of Jesse, it is evident that the seven generations here named do not represent all the links in David's lineage.

and Amminadab begat Nahshon, prince of the children
 11 of Judah; [H] and Nahshon begat Salma, and Salma
 12 begat Boaz; and Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat
 13 Jesse; [Ch] and Jesse beget his firstborn Eliab, and
 14 Abinadab the second, and Shimea the third; Nethanel
 15 the fourth, Raddai the fifth; Ozem the sixth, David the
 16 seventh; and their sisters were Zeruiah and Abigail.

And the sons of Zeruiah; Abishai, and Joab, and Asahel,
 17 three. And Abigail bare Amasa: and the father of
 18 Amasa was Jether the Ishmaelite. [R] And Caleb the
 son of Hezron begat *children* of Azubah *his* wife, and of
 Jerioth: and these were her sons; Jesher, and Shobab,

10. Nahshon: mentioned in Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, as a prince of Judah at the time of the Exodus.

13. Jesse: in 1 Sam. xvii. 12 we learn that he had eight sons; of these, one may have died childless, and would then be omitted from the genealogy.

16. Zeruiah and Abigail: David's sisters deserved special mention owing to the military prowess of their sons at the establishment of the monarchy.

ii. 18-24. *The Descendants of Caleb.* These records of the house of Caleb are given in the form of loose notes, lacking in continuity, the one important point being their connexion with the tribe of Judah. The free intermingling of place-names is an indication that the chronicler is piecing together various evidences of the local settlements of the Calebites at different periods of the history of their clan. In verses 21-23 we find a Gileadite genealogy introduced, and the question arises as to whether these Gileadites were really connected with another Hezron, here confused with the son of Perez, or whether they were aliens who eventually blended with Judah. The latter explanation is to be preferred, on the ground that these trans-Jordanic clans, when decimated by the Assyrian captivity, probably sought safety by migrating to Judah some time during the days of Hezekiah. Pre-exilic conditions are represented.

18. Caleb: a shorter form of Chelubai.

Jerioth: the text is certainly corrupt, and it has been proposed, by ■ slight change, to read 'he begat, of Azubah his wife, Jerioth' (i. e. a daughter). The names of Azubah's sons, when slightly amended, give the unique significance of 'Upright, Backslider, Destruction.'

and Ardon. And Azubah died, and Caleb took unto 19 him Ephrath, which bare him Hur. And Hur begat 20 Uri, and Uri begat Bezalel. And afterward Hezron 21 went in to the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead; whom he took *to wife* when he was threescore years old; and she bare him Segub. And Segub begat Jair, who 22 had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead. And 23 Geshur and Aram took the towns of Jair from them, with Kenath, and the villages thereof, even threescore cities. All these were the sons of Machir the father of Gilead. And after that Hezron was dead in Caleb-ephrathah, 24 then Abiah Hezron's wife bare him Ashhur the father of Tekoa. And the sons of Jerahmeel the firstborn of 25

20. Bezalel: the famous Tabernacle-smith.

21. Machir: the eldest son of Manasseh. This marriage-alliance with Manasseh is the genealogist's explanation of the reckoning of Jair (verses 22, 23) to Judah in this passage, whereas the Pentateuch numbers him with Manasseh. The descendants of Jair are said to have possessed sixty fenced cities in Gilead, of which thirty-seven are comprised under the title of 'Kenath and her daughters' (R. V. villages). These cities suffered under a raid by the Arameans of Geshur, as here stated.

24. Caleb-ephrathah: probably Bethlehem, deriving its title of Ephrathah from the fact that it was the birthplace of Caleb's first wife. The connexion of Caleb with this town shows that the section refers to the post-exilic location of his clan, for the pre-exilic days found the clan in the district of Hebron.

the father of Tekoa: i. e. of the population of the district of Tekoa.

ii. 25-41. *The Descendants of Jerahmeel.* This section is the first direct resumption of the matter represented in verse 9. It seems to be a genealogical representation of the engrafting of the southern Jerahmeelites into the tribe of Judah at a period not much later than David's day; it shows how those left in the land at the Exile were driven northward by pressure from the Edomites (or how those who returned from the Exile settled in Northern Judah); and, when the cause of their advent to the new abode was forgotten, it sought to account for it by a genealogical table. Hence verses 25-33 represent a fragment rescued from earlier times giving the habitat of the clan in David's day, whereas

Hezron were Ram the firstborn, and Bunah, and Oren,
 26 and Ozem, Ahijah. [H²] And Jerahmeel had another
 wife, whose name was Atarah; she was the mother of
 27 Onam. And the sons of Ram the firstborn of Jerahmeel
 28 were Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker. And the sons of
 Onam were Shammai, and Jada: and the sons of
 29 Shammai; Nadab, and Abishur. And the name of the
 wife of Abishur was Abihail; and she bare him Ahban,
 30 and Molid. And the sons of Nadab; Seled, and Ap
 31 paim: but Seled died without children. And the sons
 of Appaim; Ishi. And the sons of Ishi; Sheshan. And
 32 the sons of Sheshan; Ahlai. And the sons of Jada the
 brother of Shammai; Jether, and Jonathan: and Jether
 33 died without children. And the sons of Jonathan;
 Peleth, and Zaza. These were the sons of Jerahmeel.
 34 [R] Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And
 Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was
 35 Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his

verses 34-41 are intended to account for the location of the post-exilic Jerahmeelites.

ii. 25-33. *Pre-exilic Jerahmeelites.*

25. Ahijah: a feminine name, possibly representing Jerahmeel's wife. As it is disconnected with the preceding names, a preposition may have fallen out.

30. without children: the expression (לֹא בָנִים) is a late one and proves that a late writer has worked over the early record.

31. Ahlai is evidently not a son, but a daughter: cf. verses 34, 35. She is, however, reckoned as a son in that she became the heiress of Sheshan and, after marrying an Egyptian slave, founded a large family.

34-41. Post-exilic Jerahmeelites. These verses form an appendix giving a branch of Jerahmeel (post-exilic) from Sheshan through fifteen generations. It cannot be by the same hand as verses 25-33, for the former fragment is brought to a definite close in verse 33^b. These verses throw an interesting sidelight on the relations between the kingdoms of Judah and Egypt. When an honourable family forms a marriage alliance between

servant to wife; and she bare him Attai. And Attai 36
 begat Nathan, and Nathan begat Zabad; and Zabad 37
 begat Ephlal, and Ephlal begat Obed; and Obed begat 38
 Jehu, and Jehu begat Azariah; and Azariah begat Helez, 39
 and Helez begat Eleasah; and Eleasah begat Sismai, 40
 and Sismai begat Shallum; and Shallum begat Jekamiah, 41
 and Jekamiah begat Elishama. [H²] And the sons of 42
 Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel were Mesha his firstborn,
 which was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah
 the father of Hebron. And the sons of Hebron; Korah, 43
 and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema. And Shema 44
 begat Raham, the father of Jorkeam; and Rekem begat
 Shammai. And the son of Shammai was Maon; and 45
 Maon was the father of Beth-zur. [R] And Ephah, 46
 Caleb's concubine, bare Haran, and Moza, and Gazez;
 and Haran begat Gazez. [H²] And the sons of Jahdai; 47

an only daughter and an Egyptian servant, and admits thirteen generations of sons to full tribal privileges, there must have been considerable good-will between the two peoples.

(e) ii. 42-55. *Further Descendants of Caleb.* We seem here to have in verses 42-50^a the original and pre-exilic genealogy of the Calebites, as appears from their association with Hebron, where they resided in David's time. On the other hand, verses 50^b-55 must represent the post-exilic locations. The clear dividing-line of verse 50 marks the occurrence of the Exile.

42. Hebron: the whole verse is obscure. It is best explained by treating Ziph, Mareshah, and Hebron as local names, indicating the pre-exilic dwelling-places of the Calebites. Throughout the section clans are mingled with individuals under the designation of 'sons,' so that it is scarcely possible to say when the one is meant and when the other; yet almost all the names in the list may be referred to cities of the south in the mountains of Judah.

44. Achsah: the mention of the daughter of Caleb is a final proof that Caleb 'son of Hezron' is regarded as identical with Caleb 'son of Jephunneh.' The chronicler shows us, in his genealogies of Caleb, that the numerous branches of the Kenazites who had been incorporated with Judah all traced their descent from their great leader who joined the wandering Hebrews during the Exodus-days.

Regem, and Jotham, and Geshan, and Pelet, and Ephah,
 48 and Shaaph. [R] Maacah, Caleb's concubine, bare
 49 Sheber and Tirhanah. [H²] She bare also Shaaph the
 father of Madmannah, Sheva the father of Machbena,
 and the father of Gibeon; and the daughter of Caleb was
 50 Achsah. These were the sons of Caleb; the son of
 51 Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah, Shobal the father of
 Kiriath-jearim; [R] Salma the father of Beth-lehem,
 52 Hareph the father of Beth-gader. And Shobal the father
 of Kiriath-jearim had sons; Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth.
 53 And the families of Kiriath-jearim; the Ithrites, and the
 Puthites, and the Shumathites, and the Mishraites; of
 54 them came the Zorathites and the Eshtaorites. The sons
 of Salma; Beth-lehem, and the Netophathites, Atroth-
 beth-Joab, and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites.
 55 And the families of scribes which dwelt at Jabez; the
 Tirathites, the Shimeathites, the Sucathites. These are
 the Kenites that came of Hammath, the father of the
 house of Rechab.

3 [Ch²] Now these were the sons of David, which were

50. sons of Caleb: the verse repeats, with verbal changes, the introductory clause of verse 42; thereupon follows the list of towns and districts in the east of Judah occupied by the Calebites after the Exile.

52. Haroeh: probably a textual error for Reaiah: cf. iv. 2.

55. families of scribes represent scribes who were not of the Levitic priesthood. The phrase reminds us that whole families, and even clans, commonly formed a kind of trade-guild, following the same occupation from generation to generation.

These are the Kenites: the verse is very obscure. Possibly the Kenites were also called Rechabites. It is almost certain that Hammath is a textual error; it may even be a contraction for two words which denote 'the father-in-law of Moses,' who is stated in Judges i. 16 to have been a Kenite.

iii. *The Descendants of David.*

The chronicler has, thus far, traced the genealogies of the two

born unto him in Hebron : [H] the firstborn, Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess ; the second, Daniel, of Abigail the Carmelitess ; the third, Absalom the son of Maacah ² the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur ; the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith ; the fifth, Shephatiah of ³ Abital ; the sixth, Ithream by Eglah his wife. Six were ⁴ born unto him in Hebron ; and there he reigned seven years and six months : and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years. And these were born unto him in Jeru- ⁵ salem : Shimea, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon, [Ch²] four, of Bath-shua the daughter of Ammiel : [H] and Ibhar, and Elishama, and Eliphelet ; and Nogah, ⁶, ⁷ and Nepheg, and Japhia ; and Elishama, and Eliada, ⁸ and Eliphelet, nine. [Ch²] All these were the sons of ⁹ David, beside the sons of the concubines ; and Tamar

divisions of the tribe of Judah founded by Caleb and Jerahmeel, whose affinity with Hezron was currently accepted. He now returns to the royal line of David, which he has traced already from Ram to Jesse, and continues it through David and the kings of Judah down to the sons of Zerubbabel of the sixth generation. This brings down the genealogy to somewhere about 350 B. C.

The material of the first sixteen verses is found in other historic books of the O. T., thus : (1) verses 1-9 = 2 Sam. iii. 2-5, v. 14-16, and (2) verses 10-16 = 1 and 2 Kings.

(f) iii. 1-9. *David's Sons.* Of these, six were born during the seven and a half years' reign in Hebron, and thirteen during the thirty-three years' reign in Jerusalem.

1. **Daniel** : called Chileab in 2 Sam. iii. 3 ; where, however, the LXX reads Dalouia, indicating that the form Daniel is correct though varied by textual errors.

5. **these were born . . . in Jerusalem** : the same thirteen sons are named in xiv. 4-7, with orthographical variations, but the parallel passage in 2 Samuel (v. 14-16) omits the names of Eliphelet and Nogah. In our list the name of Elishama occurs twice, the former being a scribal error for the Elishua of 2 Sam. v. 14.

8. **Eliada** : LXX (6) reads Baaliada ; the use of Baal, 'lord,' in personal names was regarded as improper when the word took on a heathen signification ; hence the subsequent change.

10 was their sister. [Ch.] And Solomon's son was Rehoboam,
 11 Abijah his son, Asa his son, Jehoshaphat his son; Joram
 12 his son, Ahaziah his son, Joash his son; Amaziah his son,
 13 Azariah his son, Jotham his son; Ahaz his son, Hezekiah
 14 his son, Manasseh his son; Amon his son, Josiah his son.
 15 And the sons of Josiah; the firstborn Johanan, the
 second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum.
 16 [R²] And the sons of Jehoiakim: Jeconiah his son,
 17 Zedekiah his son. [Ch.] And the sons of Jeconiah, the
 18 captive; Shealtiel his son, and Malchiram, and Pedaiiah,
 and Shenazzar, Jekamiah, Hoshama, and Nedabiah.
 19 And the sons of Pedaiiah; Zerubbabel, and Shimei: and

(g) iii. 10-16. *The royal line of Judah.* The direct line of succession is traced from Solomon to the close of the independent monarchy under Josiah. The usurping queen, Athaliah, who was not of David's house, is omitted.

15. Johanan: a scribal error for Jehoahaz. Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 30.

16. Zedekiah: this curious mention of one of the sons of Jeconiah, whereas the others are enumerated separately in verse 18, may imply that Zedekiah was not involved in the Captivity.

(h) iii. 17-24. *The royal line after the Captivity.* This section evidently seeks to give the post-exilic families of David's line.

17. Jeconiah, the captive: the A. V. renders the descriptive noun as a proper name, Assir, which is certainly incorrect; the definite article must be inserted as in the R. V.

18. Shenazzar: the attempts to identify this son of Jeconiah with Sheshbazzar (Ezra i. 8) are open to grave objection.

19. Zerubbabel: much ingenuity has been exercised over this genealogy. Zerubbabel is here represented as the son of Pedaiiah, whereas he is represented as the son of Shealtiel in Hag. i. 1, 12; Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; and Matt. i. 12. To reconcile these confused genealogies the supposition is made that there was a lack of male issue to Shealtiel, and that Pedaiiah contracted a Levirate marriage by which Zerubbabel was born, in which case he would be reckoned as a son of Shealtiel. It is further assumed that Shealtiel was not the actual son of Jeconiah, but rather the son of a kinsman of the king, named Neri (cf. Luke iii. 27), who in his turn had contracted a Levirate marriage with the heiress of a son of Jeconiah. This line of argument, while full of suppositions which cannot now

the sons of Zerubbabel ; Meshullam, and Hananiah ;

be substantiated, would account for the double names of the fathers of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel.

A still more difficult problem, and one which closely concerns the date of the chronicler's work, is that of the number of generations assigned to Zerubbabel. There have been critics who have treated verse 21^b as a corruption or interpolation, and have actually reduced the number of generations between Zerubbabel and Hattush to two ; modern scholars generally read the number as six ; and the LXX represents it as eleven. These variations represent the period covered as 66, 180, and 330 years respectively. But it seems to be indisputable that the seven names of verses 17^b, 18 all stand for sons of Jeconiah. Again, verse 19 gives the two sons of Pedaiah, and also two sons and a daughter of Zerubbabel. Further, in verse 20, we have five more sons of Zerubbabel, separated from the first two sons by the emphatic position given to the name of their sister. Consequently Pelatiah and Jeshaiab, the grandsons of Zerubbabel named in verse 21, would be contemporaries of Ezra, who returned to Jerusalem in B. C. 458. But verse 21 is completed by the mention of four families, of which no individual members are named ; these are respectively the sons of Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shecaniah. Either these represent four brothers of Pelatiah who founded families, or they represent generations, or the text is hopelessly corrupt. There is no doubt that there is a certain amount of textual corruption ; nor can we now restore the text by the aid of the versions. Even if the 'sons of Rephaiah' were families of the royal household closely connected with Zerubbabel, we can never determine what the connexion was with any degree of certainty. The Hebrew text, however, stood in its present form at the time of the LXX translation, for the Greek translators endeavoured to make sense out of it by rendering it as of four distinct generations. This is adequate proof that confusion existed as early as B. C. 200 ; and the rendering of the LXX may be the traditional explanation. If the LXX is right, we have eleven generations named from Zerubbabel, and the record would bring us down to about B. C. 250. But, on the whole, we are disposed to read verse 21 as a list (if it be allowed to stand at all in the text) of the sons of Hananiah. Then verse 22 would give the third and fourth generations from Zerubbabel.

The whole framework of these genealogies is so loose, the grouping so unreliable, and the marks of kinship either so often omitted or used in so general a sense, that it is highly probable that the exact relationship of many of the individuals named was a matter of uncertainty even in the chronicler's day and that the

20 and Shelomith was their sister : and Hashubah, and Ohel,
 21 and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushab-hesed, five. And
 the sons of Hananiah ; Pelatiah, and Jeshaiiah : the sons of
 Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the
 22 sons of Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah ; She-
 maiah : and the sons of Shemaiah ; Hattush, and Igal,
 23 and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six. And the
 sons of Neariah ; Elioenai, and Hizkiah, and Azrikam,
 24 three. And the sons of Elioenai ; Hodaviah, and Eliashib,
 and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Delaiah, and
 Anani, seven.

4 [R²] The sons of Judah ; Perez, Hezron, and Carmi,

compiler could do no more than group names which belonged somewhere in the family tree in question. Thus it seems a warrantable conclusion that there existed more than one traditional genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel, which was accredited in the third pre-Christian century. It may be that there were breaks in the direct descent, and that Levirate marriages account for the discrepancies, and it is noticeable that the genealogy of Jesus in Matt. i does not contain a single descendant of Zerubbabel as given in this passage. Evidently, then, the genealogies which close the chapter are fragmentary, derived from sources in which the links were not freely shown, pieced together from alternative lists, and of doubtful value for strict chronological reckonings.

21. LXX, Pesh., Vulg., read : 'And the sons of Hananiah : Pelatiah, and Jeshaiiah his son, Rephaiah his son, Arnan his son, Obadiah his son, Shecaniah his son.'

22. the sons of Shecaniah . . . six : one has evidently fallen out.

(i). iv. 1-23. *Various Genealogies of Judah.* Quite a number of branches of the great, composite tribe of Judah have been passed over in the former enumeration of the families belonging to the Calebite and Jerahmeelite clans and to the royal line. Hence the compiler, seemingly unable to form an orderly record, yet unwilling to omit anything that appeared of value, groups his remaining material here with the usual loose employment of the terms of relationship. We, consequently, have here an appendix of families which somehow or other possessed a claim to be considered descendants (i. e. 'sons') of Judah. Many late expressions occur in the course of the chapter, and there is no

and Hur, and Shobal. [H²] And Reaiah the son of 2
 Shobal begat Jahath; and Jahath begat Ahumai and
 Lahad. [R²] These are the families of the Zorathites.
 [H²] And these were *the sons of* the father of Etam; 3
 Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash: and the name of their
 sister was Hazzelelponi: and Penuel the father of Gedor, 4
 and Ezer the father of Hushah. These are the sons of
 Hur, [R²] the firstborn of Ephrathah, the father of Beth-
 lehem. [H²] And Ashhur the father of Tekoa had two 5
 wives, Helah and Naarah. And Naarah bare him 6
 Ahuzzam, and Hephher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari.
 These were the sons of Naarah. And the sons of Helah 7
 were Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan. And Hakkoz begat 8
 Anub, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel the son
 of Harum. And Jabez was more honourable than his 9
 brethren: and his mother called his name Jabez, saying,
 Because I bare him with sorrow. And Jabez called on 10
 the God of Israel, saying, Oh that thou wouldest bless
 me indeed, and enlarge my border, and that thine hand
 might be with me, and that thou wouldest keep me from

doubt that it is mainly concerned with particulars of the local distribution of certain members of the tribe of Judah in post-exilic times.

1. The sons of Judah: of those named here only Perez is really a son of Judah; Hezron is a grandson (cf. ii. 8); Carmi seems to be the grandson of Zerah, brother of Perez (cf. Josh. ii. 1); and Hur and Shobal are Calebites (cf. ii. 19 and 50).

2. Zorathites: the verse supplies links omitted in ii. 52-3.

5-10. Calebites of Tekoa. The section refers to tribal dwelling-places. The otherwise unknown incident of the vow of Jabez (verses 9, 10) stands here as a unique illustration of the kind of story which had acquired popularity and religious significance in the chronicler's day. The reference was doubtless familiar to all his contemporaries as an outstanding case of answered prayer and of consecration. The verses may be a fragment excerpted from an extant MS. of the compiler's day.

evil, that it be not to my sorrow ! And God granted him
 11 that which he requested. And Chelub the brother of
 Shuhah begat Mehir, which was the father of Eshton.
 12 And Eshton begat Beth-rapha, and Paseah, and Tehinnah
 the father of Ir-nahash. These are the men of Recah.
 13 And the sons of Kenaz ; Othniel, and Seraiah : and the
 14 sons of Othniel ; Hathath. [R²] And Meonothai begat
 Ophrah : and Seraiah begat Joab the father of Ge-hara-
 15 shim ; for they were craftsmen. [H²] And the sons of
 Caleb the son of Jephunneh ; Iru, Elah, and Naam : and
 16 the sons of Elah ; and Kenaz. And the sons of Jehallelel ;
 17 Ziph, and Ziphah, Tiria, and Asarel. And the sons of
 Ezrah ; Jether, and Mered, and Ephraim, and Jalon : and
 she bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father
 18 of Eshtemoa. And his wife the Jewess bare Jered the
 father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Soco, and
 Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these are the sons
 of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.
 19 And the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham,
 were the father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the
 20 Maacathite. And the sons of Shimon ; Amnon, and
 Rinnah, Ben-hanan, and Tilon. And the sons of Ishi ;

iv. 11-14. *Calebite guild of smiths.* These verses constitute another disconnected fragment.

13. sons of Kenaz : these Kenazite leaders are named with very loose connecting links, yet are admitted because they were able to maintain affinity with Caleb's branch of Judah.

14. Ge-harashim : the name means 'Valley of the craftsmen.'

16-20. Disconnected genealogies. All we can say of these fragments is that the text is corrupt, that place-names mingle freely with personal names, and that the individuals are unknown except by name. It is interesting, however, to note that certain pre-exilic 'sons' of Caleb traced their descent to a daughter of one of the Pharaohs, Bithiah, while others of the same clan insisted on their Jewish extraction. This is one more illustration of the close relations between the clans of southern Judah and Egypt.

Zoheth, and Ben-zoheth. [R²] The sons of Shelah the 21
 son of Judah; Er the father of Lecah, and Laadah the
 father of Mareshah, and the families of the house of them
 that wrought fine linen, of the house of Ashbea; and 22
 Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, and Saraph,
 who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem. And
 the records are ancient. These were the potters, and 23
 the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah: there they
 dwelt with the king for his work.

[H] The sons of Simeon; Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, 24
 Zerah, Shaul: [H²] Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, 25

iv. 21-23. *The Descendants of Shelah.*

21. fine linen: again we have an illustration of a tribe-guild of craftsmen.

22. dominion in Moab: this verse is the sole record of this instance of Jewish immigration into Moab, and we have no means of assigning a date to it. Probably it occurred during the reign of David, at which time Moab was subject to Judah. The second name, Jashubi-lehem, is not improbably a corruption of 'they returned to Jerusalem' (jashubu bethlehem).

the records are ancient: the phrase is an indication that we have here the work of a late scribe: and verses 21-23 should almost certainly be referred to a redactor, along with verses 2^b, 4^b, and 14.

23. potters: we cannot decide whether this refers to some of the families named in verse 22, although it is more probable that it is a general reference to the inhabitants of the districts of Netaim and Gederah. On the other hand the phrase may be rendered, 'those that dwelt among plantations and hedges,' i. e. the potters are grouped along with the labourers on the royal demesnes.

(3) iv. 24-43. *The Tribe of Simeon.*

The section is a record of one of the families of Simeon. It names the pre-Davidic locations of the clan; it then narrates how it suffered from Philistine and Edomite raids, and gives the dwelling-places of the post-exilic remnants. Some of the names given here are found in earlier records:—

verse 24 = Gen. xlv. 10; Exod. vi. 15; Num. xxvi. 12.

verses 28-33 = Josh. xix. 2-8.

iv. 24-27. *Various Simeonites.* The line of Shaul is here traced for six generations; but it is expressly stated that the small size of the tribe of Simeon was due to the fact that the other branches

26 Mishma his son. And the sons of Mishma; Hammuel
 27 his son, Zaccur his son, Shimei his son. And Shime
 had sixteen sons and six daughters; but his brethren
 had not many children, neither did all their family multi-
 28 ply, like to the children of Judah. [H] And they dwelt
 29 at Beer-sheba, and Moladah, and Hazar-shual; and at
 30 Bilhah, and at Ezem, and at Tolad; and at Bethuel, and
 31 at Hormah, and at Ziklag; and at Beth-marcaboth,
 and Hazar-susim, and at Beth-biri, and at Shaaraim.
 [Ch²] These were their cities unto the reign of David.
 32 [H] And their villages were Etam, and Ain, Rimmon,
 33 and Tochen, and Ashan, five cities: and all their villages
 that were round about the same cities, unto Baal.
 [Ch²] These were their habitations, and they have their
 34 genealogy. [H²] And Meshobab, and Jamlech, and
 35 Joshah the son of Amaziah; and Joel, and Jehu the
 son of Joshibiah, the son of Seraiah, the son of Asiel;
 36 and Elioenai, and Jaakobah, and Jeshohaiah, and Asaiah,

failed to multiply. The names Mibsam and Mishma may represent Ishmaelite elements.

27. six daughters: LXX mentions three daughters only.

28-33. Pre-Davidic territory of Simeonites. The names of the towns and villages of Simeon are derived from the Book of Joshua, and the discrepancies are evidently due to textual errors and mistaken verse-divisions. They all lay in the southern division of Judah. It seems that the Simeonite lands were gradually encroached upon, as, for instance, Ziklag was conquered by the Philistines and then passed to David and to Judah. This pressure upon Simeon became more marked after the time of David (cf. verse 31).

iv. 34-43. *Simeonite emigration.*

34-41. Raid upon Gedor. Certain Simeonite families increased to such an extent that new pasturages became essential for their herds in the day of Hezekiah. Thirteen clansmen, therefore, united their forces and raided the rich and peaceful valley of Gedor (LXX Gerar), which lay in the possession of certain Canaanite tribes. This valley must have been situated to the

and Adiel, and Jesimiel, and Benaiah ; and Ziza the son 37
 of Shiphi, the son of Allon, the son of Jedaiah, the son
 of Shimri, the son of Shemaiah ; [Ch] these mentioned 38
 by name were princes in their families : and their fathers'
 houses increased greatly. [H²] And they went to the 39
 entering in of Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley,
 to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found fat 40
 pasture and good, and the land was wide, and quiet, and
 peaceable ; [Ch] for they that dwelt there aforetime were
 of Ham. [H²] And these written by name came in the 41
 days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and smote their tents,
 and the Meunim that were found there, and destroyed them
 utterly, unto this day, and dwelt in their stead : because
 there was pasture there for their flocks. And some of 42
 them, even of the sons of Simeon, five hundred men,
 went to mount Seir, having for their captains Pelatiah,
 and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi.
 And they smote the remnant of the Amalekites that 43
 escaped, and dwelt there, unto this day.

[Ch] And the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel, 5

south of Judah ; its position is unknown ; but here the Simeonite marauders fell upon the peaceful inhabitants, exterminated them, and took their lands. The incident is recorded without comment by the chronicler, as though it were a strictly legitimate act towards a heathen tribe. He has simply copied the narrative from an ancient source, interjecting explanatory sentences in verses 38 and 40.

42, 43. *Raid upon Seir.* Another band of Simeonites, 500 strong, dispossessed the Amalekite inhabitants of Edom. When the chronicler says they dwelt there 'unto this day' he is evidently merely incorporating the words of his source, for the Simeonites had been expelled from their stolen lands long before the chronicler wrote. It is scarcely necessary to point out how closely the style and material of these narratives harmonizes with the Book of Judges.

(4) v. 1-26. *The Trans-Jordanic Tribes.*

(a) v. 1-10. *The Tribe of Reuben.*

1, 2. These verses form an *introduction* in which the chronicler

(for he was the firstborn ; but, forasmuch as he defiled his father's couch, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel ; and the genealogy is not to
 2 be reckoned after the birthright. For Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the prince ; but the
 3 birthright was Joseph's :) the sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel ; Hanoah, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi.
 4 The sons of Joel ; Shemaiah his son, Gog his son, Shimei
 5 his son ; Micah his son, Reaiah his son, Baal his son ;
 6 Beerah his son, whom Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria carried away captive : he was prince of the Reubenites.
 7 And his brethren by their families, when the genealogy of their generations was reckoned ; the chief, Jeiel, and
 8 Zechariah, and Bela the son of Azaz, the son of Shema, the son of Joel, who dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and
 9 Baal-meon : and eastward he dwelt even unto the entering

explains why Joseph was not reckoned as the firstborn of Israel even when the birthright had been transferred to him from Judah. Judah became numerically strong enough to assert the tribal supremacy. This supremacy was consequently confirmed by the fact that 'the prince,' by whom is evidently meant David and the royal line, sprang from Judah. The Syriac version has a remarkable addition here : 'And by way of both these came the blessings upon all the tribes of Israel : of Judah is the king, the Messias, sprung, and Joseph was invested with the birthright.' The hand of a Christian Jew of Syria is very readily discerned in this gloss.

v. 3-6. *The four sons of Reuben* are named in Gen. xlv. 9, but we nowhere find information as to whose line, of the four, is traced through Joel to the princely Beerah of the days of the Assyrian raids.

6. **Tilgath-pilneser** : the chronicler invariably misspells this name. The correct form is given in Kings, as Tiglath-Pileser ; cf. note to verse 26.

7-9. After enumerating the leading clansmen related to Beerah, the chronicler defines the position of the grazing lands of Bela. These comprised a tract of country stretching eastward from the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley towards the Syrian desert and

in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates: because their cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead. And ¹⁰ in the days of Saul they made war with the Hagarites, who fell by their hand: and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the *land* east of Gilead.

And the sons of Gad dwelt over against them, in the ¹¹ land of Bashan unto Salecah: Joel the chief, and ¹² Shapham the second, and Janai, and Shaphat in Bashan: and their brethren of their fathers' houses; Michael, and ¹³ Meshullam, and Sheba, and Jorai, and Jacan, and Zia, and Eber, seven. These were the sons of Abihail the son of ¹⁴ Huri, the son of Jaroah, the son of Gilead, the son of Michael, the son of Jehishai, the son of Jahdo, the son of Buz; Ahi the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief ¹⁵ of their fathers' houses. And they dwelt in Gilead in ¹⁶ Bashan, and in her towns, and in all the suburbs of

the Euphrates, and extending from the level of the river Arnon on the south to Mount Nebo and Heshbon on the north. But the clansmen evidently grazed their flocks northward into the pastures of Reubenite Gilead.

10. war with the Hagarites. The Hagarites were a pastoral people, tracing their half-Egyptian, half-Israelite origin to Hagar; they wandered over the grazing lands and deserts east of trans-Jordanic Israel. The brief reference here made to the campaign in which the Reubenites of Bela's clans dispossessed them of eastern Gilead in the days of Saul probably refers to the same war as that recorded in verses 18-22.

(b) **11-17. The Tribe of Gad.** This tribe occupied the lands north of Reuben as far as the sea of Galilee and eastward from the Jordan to the desert. Four chieftains of Bashan are named (verse 12); and then follow seven others (verse 13), whose genealogy is traced through eight generations of otherwise unknown ancestors to the head of their clan, one Guni. Not only did they occupy the towns of Gilead, but they pressed north of the river Yarmuk into Bashan and southward to the Moabite uplands of Sharon (see *Hist. Geog.* by G. A. Smith, ch. xxv. § 4). And, lastly, we are informed that the genealogies of these clans were compiled in the days of Jotham of Judah and Jeroboam of Israel.

- 17 Sharon, as far as their borders. All these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.
- 18 The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, were forty and four thousand seven hundred and
- 19 threescore, that were able to go forth to war. And they made war with the Hagrites, with Jetur, and Naphish, and
- 20 Nodab. And they were helped against them, and the

Some difficulty is created by this statement. According to the present chronology of the Book of Kings, Jotham ascended the throne of Judah twenty-five years after the death of Jeroboam II of Israel. If this be correct, our text (verse 17) must refer to two compilations of Gadite records. But there are hopeless inconsistencies in the chronology of Kings which require to be eliminated. The only satisfactory harmony is that presented in the volume of the *Century Bible* on Kings (pp. 38-47, Skinner). According to this solution, Jotham's reign is so reckoned that the first ten years of it were really a regency during the lifetime of his father Uzziah and only the last five years were a full kingship. At the same time the only possible way of producing a harmony between the chronological notices of the Book of Kings and the references of the Assyrian monuments, while also restoring consistency to the Hebrew history, would be to make the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II synchronize with the regency of Jotham. If this is done, the census alluded to in our narrative must have fallen during this period, i. e. between 749 and 745 B. C.

v. 18-22. *Second version of the Hagrite war.* This narrative seems to be an enlarged version of the campaign recorded in verses 7-10; it was probably derived from a different source. In this case we read of a full mustering of the trans-Jordanic tribes to urge war upon the Hagrites. Not improbably the cause was an earlier raid of the Hagrites or a threatened danger which called for self-defence. The numbers of the warriors are so large that one suspects an error has crept into the figures; but the events are vividly described. In the first shock of battle between the 'valiant men' of Israel and the Hagrites of 'Jetur and Naphish and Nodab' the uncertainty of the issue led the Hebrews to cry to God for aid. The result was a complete victory for Israel. The chronicler adds the note, 'the war was of God,' thus giving an illustration of his customary reverent reading of history. The

Hagrites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them: for they cried to God in the battle, and he was intreated of them; because they put their trust in him. And they took away their cattle; of their camels ²¹ fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand, and of men an hundred thousand. For there fell many slain, because ²² the war was of God. And they dwelt in their stead until the captivity.

And the children of the half tribe of Manasseh dwelt ²³ in the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon and Senir and mount Hermon. And these were ²⁴ the heads of their fathers' houses; even Ephraim, and Ishi, and Eliel, and Azriel, and Jeremiah, and Hodaviah, and Jahdiel, mighty men of valour, famous men, heads of their fathers' houses.

And they trespassed against the God of their fathers, ²⁵ and went a whoring after the gods of the peoples of the land, whom God destroyed before them. And the God ²⁶ of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and

nature of the booty taken indicates the nomadic character of the enemy (verse 21). And the decisive nature of the engagement is evident from the fact that the tribes held the conquered lands until the Captivity.

21. fifty thousand: LXX reads 'five thousand.'

23, 24. Trans-Jordanic Manasseh. The half-tribe of Manasseh enjoyed unhindered growth. Its territory extended from the river Yarmuk northwards towards the Lebanon valley and the mountain range of Hermon. The names of seven tribal chieftains are here recorded.

v. 25, 26. *The Assyrian Captivity.* The two concluding verses of the chapter refer to the entire trans-Jordanic population. Briefly they tell of the lapse into idolatry and the subsequent deportation of the two and a half tribes by the Assyrian conquerors; and it is evident that the chronicler recognizes that the catastrophe is an act of Divine retribution.

26. Pul and Tilgath-pilneser are here represented as two

the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river of Gozan, unto this day.

6 [R] The sons of Levi ; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

different Assyrian monarchs. If this is the meaning of the chronicler, he is in error. Babylonian inscriptions show that the two names refer to the same person and that his real name was Pulu. It is not improbable that he assumed the name of Tiglath-Pileser (always misspelt by our author) on his usurpation of the Assyrian throne in 745 B. C. (cf. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889, &c.). The same error concerning the monarch indicated by the two names is found in 2 Kings xv. 19, 29. Under the successors of the warlike Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser II, the northern empire on the Tigris had gradually shrunk ; but Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B. C.) proved a powerful ruler and pushed his arms as far as the boundaries of Egypt. After subduing Babylonia, he responded to the call of Ahaz of Judah to aid him against Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus. In the ensuing campaign (734 B. C.), the Assyrian monarch entered Samaria and subsequently carried away captive the tribes which dwelt to the east of the Jordan.

Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and the river of Gozan : it seems evident that Hara is a corrupted form of some longer name (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6), and the usual critical emendation of the text is to be adopted : 'In Halah and by Habor the river of Gozan and in Harhar a city of Media.' Gozan is the Assyrian Guzanu, a province bordering on Media. Its chief river was the Habor, now the Hābūr.

(5) vi. *Levitical Genealogies.*

In the Hebrew text the first fifteen verses of our ch. vi are reckoned as belonging to ch. v. They constitute a corrupt and fragmentary record and are evidently the work of a later redactor of the Chronicles. The chapter gives two genealogies of the high-priestly line from Aaron to Ahimaaz, and also devotes two sections to the descendants of Levi.

(a) vi. 1-15. *The High-Priestly line.* This is traced from Levi down to the days of the Exile. From Eleazar, the divinely selected inheritor of the prerogatives of Aaron, there are twenty-two generations named ; but it is questionable whether twenty-two generations are sufficient for such a period. It is not possible

And the sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, ²
 and Uzziel. And the children of Amram; Aaron, and ³
 Moses, and Miriam. And the sons of Aaron; Nadab
 and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. Eleazar begat Phinehas, ⁴
 Phinehas begat Abishua; and Abishua begat Bukki, and ⁵
 Bukki begat Uzzi; and Uzzi begat Zerahiah, and Zerahiah ⁶

to establish the exact dates of early Hebrew history from any data now at our disposal independently of the O. T. But there was a belief prevalent at the time of the composition of the Book of the Kings (1 Kings vi. 1) according to which 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the building of the Temple. At that time the Temple had already ceased to exist; and, even if we could place confidence in a date appearing so late in history, still there would be an artificiality about the period containing exactly twelve generations of forty years each, which indicates that the historian was speaking in round numbers and in traditional phraseology. But, if we provisionally accept this length of the period, it gives us 440 years from the death of Aaron to the building of the Temple. Now the Temple was commenced in Solomon's fourth year, i. e. in 967 B. C., according to our most reliable chronological reckoning. And from that date to the Captivity of 587 B. C. there would be a period of 380 years. Thus from Aaron to Jehozadak we have 820 years for twenty-two generations, which gives thirty-seven years to each generation. This seems to be an abnormally long average of life for the high-priests of eight centuries; and, even if we could accept this, there are other grounds upon which we are compelled to regard the genealogy in question as incomplete. For instance, the chronicler evidently implies that there was an unbroken occupation of the Aaronic priesthood by the lineal descendants of Eleazar; but this is not substantiated by statements found elsewhere in the O. T. We learn, on the contrary, that the house of Eli, which traced its descent to Ithamar (cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 5), held the office for many years; and the Books of Samuel and Kings¹ supply us with the following names in Ithamar's line of high-priests: Eli (Phinehas), Ahitub, Ahijah (called also Ahimelech), Abiathar (deposed by Solomon). Hence we are led to inquire whether the twenty-two names in the chronicler's list represent actual holders of the office or not. The explanation given by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 11. 5) seems to be trustworthy. He tells us that the office remained in the possession

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 20, iv. 11, xiv. 3, xxii. 9, 11, 20; 1 Kings ii. 26, 27, 35.

- 7 begat Meraioth ; Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah
 8 begat Ahitub ; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok
 9 begat Ahimaaz ; and Ahimaaz begat Azariah, and Azariah

of the house of Eleazar until the days of Uzzi, but that, for some unknown reason, instead of passing down to Uzzi's son Zerariah, it was then transferred to Eli, the claimant of Ithamar's line. From Eli the dignity passed down through four generations, Phinehas (who never actually executed its duties), Ahitub, Ahijah, to Abiathar. But meantime the legal line of the high-priests, descended from Eleazar, which had always claimed the office and had possibly performed some of its functions, had been represented by Zerariah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok (verses 51-53). When, however, Saul massacred the priests of Nob (1 Sam. xxii), the only man who escaped was Ahijah, and, as he followed the fortunes of David henceforth, the office of high-priest seems to have been transferred to the contemporary representative of Eleazar's house, viz. Ahitub. This would account for the double high-priesthood of David's day, viz. that of Zadok and Abiathar, which was terminated by Solomon. According to this explanation, three of those named in the chronicler's list, viz. Zerariah, Meraioth, and Amariah, did not enjoy the highest ecclesiastical office at all. Thus we discover that the aim of the passage is merely to trace the connexion between Jehozadak and Eleazar.

But there are yet other proofs of the incompleteness of the list. Not only do the names from Eleazar to Uzzi appear too few for the period from the Exodus to Samuel (i. e. five names for a period probably covering 300 years), but it is certain that several names have been omitted between Zadok and Jehozadak. We have no mention of Jehoiada (2 Kings xi) or of Urijah (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.). Then are we to accept the threefold recurrence of the name of Azariah as representing the priests so named under Solomon, Uzziah, and Hezekiah? It is probable that Amariah (verse 11) is the priest mentioned in 2 Chron. xix. 11 in the reign of Jehoshaphat (874-850 B. C.); and, in that case, the Hilkiah of verse 13, four generations later, can hardly be the Hilkiah of Josiah's reign (637-607 B. C.); nor could his son Azariah (verse 13) be the high-priest who officiated under Hezekiah (720-692 B. C.) We are, therefore, forced to assume that some links have been omitted. And this assumption is strengthened by the fact that while only eleven generations are assigned to Zadok's line between Solomon and the Captivity, seventeen are assigned to David's line during the same period.

7, 8. Amariah . . . Ahitub . . . Zadok : note the suspicious recurrence of these names in verses 11, 12.

begat Johanan; and Johanan begat Azariah, (he it is that 10
executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon
built in Jerusalem :) and Azariah begat Amariah, and 11
Amariah begat Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and 12
Zadok begat Shallum; and Shallum begat Hilkiyah, and 13
Hilkiyah begat Azariah; and Azariah begat Seraiah, and 14
Seraiah begat Jehozadak; and Jehozadak went *into* 15
captivity, when the LORD carried away Judah and
Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.

[H] The sons of Levi; Gershom, Kohath, and Merari. 16
And these be the names of the sons of Gershom; Libni 17
and Shimei. And the sons of Kohath were Amram, and 18
Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel. The sons of Merari; 19
Mahli and Mushi. And these are the families of the
Levites according to their fathers' *houses*. [H²] Of 20
Gershom; Libni his son, Jahath his son, Zimmah his son;
Joah his son, Iddo his son, Zerah his son, Jeatherai his son. 21

10. executed the priest's office. The reference may be to the incident of King Uzziah's usurpation of the priestly rights: cf. 2 Chron. xxvi. 17.

15. by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B. C.) was the second monarch of the neo-Babylonian empire. He had inflicted a crushing defeat upon Necho, the reigning Pharaoh, at Carchemish in 605 B. C. On coming to the throne he displayed great zeal in beautifying the city of Babylon and in repairing its ancient temples. In 597 B. C. he crushed the second revolt of the Jews under Jehoiakim and carried many captives from Jerusalem to Babylonia. In 588 B. C. Zedekiah revolted against him, and a fierce campaign followed, in which Jerusalem fell, and the great Captivity ensued in 587 B. C.

(b) vi. 16-30. *Levitical Genealogies.* This and the following genealogies of the chapter are mainly derived from the Pentateuch (cf. Exod. vi. 16-24; Num. iii. 17-20).

18. The sons of Levi are given here as in verse 1, but the record of verse 2 is expanded in verses 17 and 19 by the addition of the sons of Gershom and Merari.

20-30. *Lines of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari.* First we have seven descendants of Gershom; then follow three confused and dis-

22 The sons of Kohath ; Amminadab his son, Korah his son,
 23 Assir his son ; Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son,
 24 and Assir his son ; Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uziah
 25 his son, and Shaul his son. And the sons of Elkanah ;
 26 Amasai, and Ahimoth. As for Elkanah : the sons of
 27 Elkanah ; Zophai his son, and Nahath his son ; Eliab his
 28 son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son. And the sons of
 29 Samuel ; the firstborn *Joel*, and the second Abiah. The
 sons of Merari ; Mahli, Libni his son, Shimei his son,
 30 Uzzah his son ; Shimea his son, Haggiah his son, Asaiah
 his son.

31 [Ch] And these are they whom David set over the
 service of song in the house of the LORD, after that the
 32 ark had rest. And they ministered with song before the

connected lists of the descendants of Kohath, in which Amminadab probably represents the Izhar of Exod. vi. 18, in that his line is unmistakably traced here ; and, lastly, we have the names of seven descendants of Merari which are given nowhere else.

28. Samuel : historically an Ephraimite : cf. 1 Sam. i. 1.

(c) 31-48. *Pedigree of David's chief musicians.* The three musical guilds of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (= Jeduthan) are traced back to their common Levitic origin, and the genealogies are prefaced and concluded with references to the musical services of the Temple.

31. after that the ark had rest: the allusion is to the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem, narrated in 2 Sam. vi. In the early narrative we read of the employment of sacred music in the ceremony of transporting the Ark, and the chronicler has historic grounds for tracing the establishment of the musical services of the sanctuary back to David's day ; but he presents the case in a light not warranted by the earlier histories, when he represents the full Levitic musical organization of his day as having existed from the time of David. In all probability it passed through a long course of gradual development, and only reached its final perfection under Ezra.

the ark : cf. note on xiii. 3.

32. they ministered with song. The three choirs were so arranged that Heman conducted the central choir, Asaph that on the right, and Ethan that on the left. It is improbable that these

tabernacle of the tent of meeting, until Solomon had built the house of the LORD in Jerusalem : and they waited on their office according to their order. And these are they 33 that waited, and their sons. Of the sons of the Kohathites : Heman the singer, the son of Joel, the son of Samuel ; the son of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the 34 son of Eliel, the son of Toah ; the son of Zuph, the 35 son of Elkanah, the son of Mahath, the son of Amasai ; the son of Elkanah, the son of Joel, the son of Azariah, 36 the son of Zephaniah ; the son of Tahath, the son of 37 Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah ; the son of 38 Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of Israel. And his brother Asaph, who stood on his right 39 hand, even Asaph the son of Berechiah, the son of Shimea ; the son of Michael, the son of Baaseiah, the son 40 of Malchijah ; the son of Ethni, the son of Zerah, the son 41 of Adaiah ; the son of Ethan, the son of Zimmah, the son 42 of Shimei ; the son of Jahath, the son of Gershom, the 43 son of Levi. And on the left hand their brethren the 44 sons of Merari : Ethan the son of Kishi, the son of Abdi, the son of Malluch ; the son of Hashabiah, the son of 45 Amaziah, the son of Hilkiah ; the son of Amzi, the son of 46 Bani, the son of Shemer ; the son of Mahli, the son of 47 Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi. And their 48 brethren the Levites were appointed for all the service of the tabernacle of the house of God.

But Aaron and his sons offered upon the altar of burnt 49

genealogies are complete, as appears from the great diversity in the number of names assigned to the three guilds ; thus Heman has twenty links in his genealogy, Asaph fifteen, and Ethan only twelve. The section appears to be the original work of the chronicler, and to have been compiled with strict reference to the Second Temple and its music.

(d) 49-53. *Second genealogy of High-Priestly line.* In this

offering, and upon the altar of incense, for all the work of the most holy place, and to make atonement for Israel, according to all that Moses the servant of God had
 50 commanded. And these are the sons of Aaron; Eleazar
 51 his son, Phinehas his son, Abishua his son; Bukki his
 52 son, Uzzi his son, Zerahiah his son; Meraioth his son,
 53 Amariah his son, Ahitub his son; Zadok his son, Ahimaaz
 his son.

54 [H] Now these are their dwelling places according to
 their encampments in their borders: to the sons of Aaron,
 of the families of the Kohathites, for theirs was the *first*
 55 lot, to them they gave Hebron in the land of Judah, and
 56 the suburbs thereof round about it; but the fields of
 the city, and the villages thereof, they gave to Caleb the
 57 son of Jephunneh. And to the sons of Aaron they gave
 the cities of refuge, Hebron; Libnah also with her

section the chronicler, or possibly a later scribe, sums up the duties of the Aaronic priesthood. These consisted of (1) the offering of the burnt-sacrifice and of incense, (2) the attendance upon the Temple, and (3) the making of the atonement for Israel. It seems to be implied that the Pentateuch as known in post-exilic days had existed in its final form since the time of Moses, so that the ritual obtaining in the Second Temple is assumed in writing of the remote past. The list of high-priests to the time of Solomon, which follows, is identical with that given in verses 4-8.

(e) **54-81. Levitical Cities.** The list of the cities inhabited by the Levites has been copied from Joshua xxi, with alterations which are mainly verbal. Many corruptions have crept into the place-names in the course of transcription, and some few names have dropped out. Verses 64, 65 would occupy a more natural position in the narrative if placed in the middle of verse 54, in which case they would stand parallel to the introductory verses in Joshua xxi.

The cities belonging to the Kohathites, Gershomites, and Merarites are given in detail. The enumeration opens with a brief mention of the Kohathite settlements around Hebron (verses 54^b-56). Then follow certain cities allocated to the Aaronic priests (verses 57-60), from which Jochthah and Gibeon have

suburbs, and Jattir, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs ;
 and Hilen with her suburbs, Debir with her suburbs ; 58
 and Ashan with her suburbs, and Beth-shemesh with her 59
 suburbs : and out of the tribe of Benjamin ; Geba with 60
 her suburbs, and Allemeth with her suburbs, and Anathoth
 with her suburbs. All their cities throughout their
 families were thirteen cities. [Ch²] And unto the rest of 61
 the sons of Kohath *were given* by lot, out of the family
 of the tribe, out of the half tribe, the half of Manasseh,
 ten cities. And to the sons of Gershom, according to 62
 their families, out of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the
 tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out
 of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.
 Unto the sons of Merari *were given* by lot, according to 63
 their families, out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the
 tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve
 cities. And the children of Israel gave to the Levites 64
 the cities with their suburbs. And they gave by lot out 65
 of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the
 tribe of the children of Simeon, and out of the tribe of
 the children of Benjamin, these cities which are mentioned
 by name. [H] And some of the families of the sons of 66
 Kohath had cities of their borders out of the tribe of
 Ephraim. And they gave unto them the cities of refuge, 67
 Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim with her suburbs ;
 Gezer also with her suburbs ; and Jokmeam with her 68
 suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs ; and Aijalon 69

been omitted. Following upon this, we have in verses 61-63 condensed statements of the districts occupied by the descendants of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari respectively ; in the centre of verse 61 there is a curious hiatus caused by the omission of the words, 'of Ephraim and of the tribe of Dan.' Lastly, we have a more detailed account of the towns in the possession of the Kohathites (66-70), the Gershomites (71-76), and the Merarites (77-81).

with her suburbs, and Gath-rimmon with her suburbs :
 70 and out of the half tribe of Manasseh ; Aner with her
 suburbs, and Bileam with her suburbs, for the rest of
 71 the family of the sons of Kohath. Unto the sons of
 Gershom *were given*, out of the family of the half tribe
 of Manasseh, Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, and
 72 Ashtaroth with her suburbs : and out of the tribe of
 Issachar ; Kedesh with her suburbs, Daberath with her
 73 suburbs ; and Ramoth with her suburbs, and Anem with
 74 her suburbs : and out of the tribe of Asher ; Mashal with
 75 her suburbs, and Abdon with her suburbs ; and Hukok
 76 with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs : and out
 of the tribe of Naphtali ; Kedesh in Galilee with her
 suburbs, and Hammon with her suburbs, and Kiriathaim
 77 with her suburbs. Unto the rest of *the Levites*, the sons
 of Merari, *were given*, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Rim-
 78 mono with her suburbs, Tabor with her suburbs : and
 beyond the Jordan at Jericho, on the east side of Jordan,
were given them, out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer in the
 wilderness with her suburbs, and Jahzah with her suburbs,
 79 and Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with
 80 her suburbs : and out of the tribe of Gad ; Ramoth in
 Gilead with her suburbs, and Mahanaim with her suburbs,
 81 and Heshbon with her suburbs, and Jazer with her
 suburbs.

7 And of the sons of Issachar ; Tola, and Puah, Jashub,

Among the alterations effected by our compiler we notice the omission of Joshua xxi. 23 between verses 68 and 69 ; and the omission of two names and the variation of other two from Joshua xxi. 34-5 ; and the correction of the names (in verse 70) which were wrongly given in Joshua xxi. 25.

(6) vii. *Genealogies of the southern cis-Jordanic tribes of Israel.*

The chapter is devoted to the genealogies of the tribes of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, cis-Jordanic Manasseh, Ephraim,

and Shimron, four. [Ch] And the sons of Tola ; Uzzi, 2
 and Rephaiah, and Jeriel, and Jahmai, and Ibsam,
 and Shemuel, heads of their fathers' houses, *to wit*, of
 Tola ; mighty men of valour in their generations : their
 number in the days of David was two and twenty thousand
 and six hundred. And the sons of Uzzi ; Izrahiah : 3
 and the sons of Izrahiah ; Michael, and Obadiah, and
 Joel, Isshiah, five : all of them chief men. And with 4
 them, by their generations, after their fathers' houses,
 were bands of the host for war, six and thirty thousand :
 for they had many wives and sons. And their brethren 5
 among all the families of Issachar, mighty men of valour,
 reckoned in all by genealogy, were fourscore and seven
 thousand.

[H] *The sons of Benjamin ;* Bela, and Becher, [Ch] and 6
 Jediael, three. And the sons of Bela ; Ezbon, and Uzzi, 7
 and Uzziel, and Jerimoth, and Iri, five ; heads of fathers'
 houses, mighty men of valour ; and they were reckoned
 by genealogy twenty and two thousand and thirty and
 four. And the sons of Becher ; Zemirah, and Joash, 8
 and Eliezer, and Elioenai, and Omri, and Jeremoth, and

and Asher. In the case of the first two and of the last of these,
 we have an estimate of the war-footing of the tribes.

(a) **1-5. Issachar.** The name Issachar is of disputed significance, but was connected in Hebrew history with the root denoting 'wages': cf. Gen. xxx. 18. The territory of the tribe lay between the uplands of central Palestine and the deep Jordan valley ; the great trade-route of the valley of Megiddo ran across it. The four sons of Issachar are named as in Num. xxvi. 23-4 ; but in Gen. xli. 13, by the omission of a letter, we read Job instead of Jashub. The line is only traced for four generations. The number of tribal warriors, estimated at 87,000, is probably taken from David's census.

(b) **6-12. Benjamin.** The name signifies 'son of my right hand.' The tribe inhabited the plateau at the southern end of the central highlands of Ephraim. Situated in a stern and somewhat barren land, the tribesmen were a warlike race, and played no mean part

- 9 Abijah, and Anathoth, and Alemeth. All these were the sons of Becher. And they were reckoned by genealogy, after their generations, heads of their fathers' houses, mighty men of valour, twenty thousand and two hundred.
- 10 And the sons of Jediahel; Bilhan: and the sons of Bilhan; Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and
- 11 Zethan, and Tarshish, and Ahishahar. All these were sons of Jediahel, according to the heads of their fathers' houses, mighty men of valour, seventeen thousand and two hundred, that were able to go forth in the host for
- 12 war. Shuppim also, and Huppim, the sons of Ir, Hushim, the sons of Aher.
- 13 [H] The sons of Naphtali; Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, the sons of Bilhah.

in the history of their people. The chronicler gives genealogical lists of the tribe, both here and in ch. viii. In the present list we read of only three sons of Benjamin, whereas Num. xxvi. 38-40 names five, and Gen. xlvi. 21 gives them as ten (including, however, the grandsons). Then follow the names of five sons of Bela, nine of Becher (the last two being really place-names), and one son and seven grandsons of Jediahel. The number of Benjamite warriors is presumably taken from David's census.

12. Shuppim and Huppim. The text is undoubtedly corrupt: the names Shuppim and Huppim occur in varied form in Gen. xlvi. 21; but the same names occur in verse 15 of our chapter under the genealogy of Manasseh. Moreover, Hushim is named in Gen. xlvi. 23 as a son of Dan, which seems to prove that the MS. is defective here, the tribe of Dan having been omitted with the exception of the mutilated fragment which now constitutes verse 12. It has even been supposed that there is a correct and long-forgotten allusion to this omission in the phrase 'sons of Aher,' which might be translated 'sons of the other.' In comparison with the earlier narrative we see that both Dan and Zebulun are omitted from the present chapter.

(c) **13. Naphtali.** The tribal territory lay along the western shore of the sea of Galilee and the Jordan bank. It contained well-watered and fruitful lands. In the genealogy here given we have only the names of the sons of Naphtali, but these agree with Gen. xlvi. 24-5 and Num. xxvi. 48-9.

[H²] The sons of Manasseh; Asriel, whom *his wife* 14 bare: (his concubine the Aramitess bare Machir the father of Gilead: and Machir took a wife of Huppim 15 and Shuppim, whose sister's name was Maacah;) and the name of the second was Zelophehad: and Zelophehad had daughters. And Maacah the wife of Machir bare 16 a son, and she called his name Peresh; and the name of his brother was Sheresh; and his sons were Ulam and Rakem. And the sons of Ulam; Bedan. These 17 were the sons of Gilead the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh. And his sister Hammoiecheth bare Ishhod, 18 and Abiezer, and Mahlah. And the sons of Shemida 19 were Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and Aniam.

[Ch] And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered 20 his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and

(d) 14-19. *Manasseh*. The tribe occupied the hill-country to the north of Ephraim from the Jordan to the sea. We read here of two only of the six families of Manasseh mentioned in Num. xxvi. 29-34, viz. Asriel and Shemida. The text is corrupt at this point and the narrative is very obscure. But the latter part of verse 14 seems to refer to a concubine of Manasseh, in that the correct line of descent referred to in this verse was Manasseh-Machir-Gilead-Asriel (cf. Gen. l. 23, and Num. xxvi. 29 ff.). The LXX reads: 'The sons of Manasseh, Esriel, whom his Syrian concubine bore, and she also bore him Machir, father of Gilead.' (It is interesting to note here that Philo quotes this verse, and this only, from the Book of Chronicles, using it as an allegorical illustration of the relation of recollection to memory.) Again, verse 15^a is confused and corrupt. As it stands, it implies that Maacah, the wife of Machir, was sister to the Benjamites (?) here named; and the versions do not help us to restore the text. But the second part of the verse seems rightly to be connected with verse 14^a (as is shown by the marks of parenthesis in the R. V.), if it be borne in mind that Zelophehad was in reality a nephew of Machir (Num. xxvi. 33). The two concluding verses of the section (18, 19) represent the third and fourth families of the Manassites.

(e) 20-29. *Ephraim*. The tribal name signifies 'fertile tract,' and is eminently applicable to their ancestral lands in the well-

21 Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his
 son, [H²] and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath
 that were born in the land slew, because they came down
 22 to take away their cattle. And Ephraim their father
 mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort
 23 him. And he went in to his wife, and she conceived,
 and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because
 24 it went evil with his house. And his daughter was
 Sheerah, who built Beth-horon the nether and the upper,
 25 and Uzen-sheerah. [Ch] And Rephah was his son,
 and Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son;
 26 Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son;
 27, 28 Nun his son, Joshua his son. And their possessions and
 habitations were Beth-el and the towns thereof, and
 eastward Naaran, and westward Gezer, with the towns

watered uplands of central Palestine, extending, as they did, for ninety miles from Beth-el in the south to Megiddo in the north. In the present genealogies of this independent and warlike tribe we find six generations of the line of Shuthelah (cf. Num. xxvi. 35); then a second line is taken up in verse 25 and is traced from Rephah to Joshua. Amid the genealogical records there is inserted a brief account of a disastrous cattle-raid on the part of two clansmen upon their Canaanite, or Philistine, neighbours. The raid must have taken place after the settlement of the Ephraimites in Palestine; and, in that case, the Ephraim of verse 22 (1) either refers to a later descendant of the founder of the tribe, or (2) the verse is a figurative statement of the fact that the place of the slaughtered clansmen of Ezer and Elead was taken by a newly formed clan bearing the name of Beriah. The latter explanation is supported by the statement of viii. 13, where we read that the Benjamites of the clan of Beriah 'put to flight the inhabitants of Gath,' whence we gather that the rescuing Benjamites received the inheritance of the lost tribesmen and were thereafter reckoned among the tribe of Ephraim. The narrative presents a vivid picture of frontier warfare in the early days of Hebrew history. In verse 24 prominence is given to the heiress Sheerah from the fact that her descendants occupied the two towns Beth-horon and Uzen-sheerah in the south of the tribal territory. In verses 28, 29 we find a list of Ephraimite frontier

thereof; Shechem also and the towns thereof, unto Azzah and the towns thereof: and by the borders of the 29 children of Manasseh, Beth-shean and her towns, Taanach and her towns, Megiddo and her towns, Dor and her towns. In these dwelt the children of Joseph the son of Israel.

[H] The sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah, and 30 Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister. And the sons 31 of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel, [Ch] who was the father of Birzaith. And Heber begat Japhlet, and 32 Shomer, and Hotham, and Shua their sister. And the 33 sons of Japhlet; Pasach, and Bimhal, and Ashvath. These are the children of Japhlet. And the sons of 34 Shemer; Ahi, and Rohgah, Jehubbah, and Aram. And 35 the sons of Helem his brother; Zophah, and Imna, and Shelesh, and Amal. The sons of Zophah; Suah, and 36 Harnepher, and Shual, and Beri, and Imrah; Bezer, 37 and Hod, and Shamma, and Shilshah, and Ithran, and Beera. And the sons of Jether; Jephunneh, and Pispah, 38 and Ara. And the sons of Ulla; Arah, and Hanniel, 39 and Rizia. All these were the children of Asher, heads 40 of the fathers' houses, choice and mighty men of valour, chief of the princes. And the number of them reckoned

towns, and we learn from the inclusion among them of the Benjamite town of Beth-el that the boundaries described were those recognized at the disruption of the kingdom, when Beth-el actually fell to the northern tribes.

(f) 30-40. *Asher*. The name denotes 'blessed,' and the tribal lands lay on the north-west coast of Palestine. The present genealogy is confined to the three clans of the Imnites, the Ishvites, and the Berites. The war-footing of the tribe as given in our text refers only to the families whose lines are here traced, not to the entire tribe. The whole tribe is said to have numbered in the days of the Exodus over twice as many as the present figures state.

by genealogy for service in war was twenty and six thousand men.

8 [R] And Benjamin begat Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the
2 second, and Aharah the third; Nohah the fourth, and
3 Rapha the fifth. And Bela had sons, Addar, and Gera,
4 and Abihud; and Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah;
5, 6 and Gera, and Shephuphan, and Huram. And these are
the sons of Ehud: these are the heads of fathers' houses
of the inhabitants of Geba, and they carried them captive
7 to Manahath: and Naaman, and Ahijah, and Gera, he
carried them captive; and he begat Uzza and Ahihud.

(7) viii. *Benjamite Genealogies and the House of Saul.*

There is little room to doubt that these Benjamite genealogies originally possessed a more symmetrical form, but this has been so hopelessly lost that even the ancient versions fail to lead us to a satisfactory text. Their general plan does not differ appreciably from that of the former list of Benjamites given in vi. 6-11, which it seems intended to supplement. The two lists undoubtedly come from different sources, and ch. viii bears every mark of being quite a late insertion in the text of the Chronicles. It reflects unmistakably the circumstances of the post-exilic community, when in verse 28 it speaks of large numbers of Benjamites as dwelling in Jerusalem, for we learn from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah to what a large extent the ancient capital was repopled by Benjamites after the Captivity.

(a) viii. 1-28. *Benjamite Genealogies.*

1-5. The names given here differ considerably from the list of Gen. xlv. 21, but agree more closely with that found in Num. xxvi. 38. The names of those who failed to found families are naturally omitted; and, moreover, it is probable either that the names Nohah and Rapha (verse 2) are alternatives to or corruptions of Shephupham and Hupham of Num. xxvi. 39, or that they stand for later links. The six descendants of Bela named here stand in the uncertain relationship so often indicated by the word 'sons,' which frequently means 'cousins.'

6-7. Among the records of the family of Ehud it is interesting to read of a raid of one Benjamite clan upon another, in which Gera carried away captive certain fellow tribesmen, Naaman and Ahijah. The position of their destination, Manahath, is uncertain; but the narrative is so rugged and obscure that one is tempted to

And Shaharaim begat children in the field of Moab, after 8
 he had sent them away; Hushim and Baara were his
 wives. And he begat of Hodesh his wife, Jobab, and 9
 Zibia, and Mesha, and Malcam; and Jeuz, and Shachia, 10
 and Mirmah. These were his sons, heads of fathers'
houses. And of Hushim he begat Abitub and Elpaal. 11
 And the sons of Elpaal; Eber, and Misham, and Shemed, 12
 who built Ono and Lod, with the towns thereof: and 13
 Beriah, and Shema, who were heads of fathers' *houses* of
 the inhabitants of Aijalon, who put to flight the inhabitants
 of Gath; and Ahio, Shashak, and Jeremoth; and Zebadiah, 14, 15
 and Arad, and Eder; and Michael, and Ishpah, and Joha, 16
 the sons of Beriah; and Zebadiah, and Meshullam, and 17
 Hizki, and Heber; and Ishmerai, and Izliah, and Jobab, 18
 the sons of Elpaal; and Jakim, and Zichri, and Zabdi; 19
 and Elienai, and Zillethai, and Eliel; and Adaiah, and 20, 21
 Beraiah, and Shimrath, the sons of Shimei; and Ishpan, 22
 and Eber, and Eliel; and Abdon, and Zichri, and Hanan; 23
 and Hananiah, and Elam, and Anthothijah; and Iphdeiah, 24, 25
 and Penuel, the sons of Shashak; and Shamsheraï, and 26
 Shehariah, and Athaliah; and Jareshiah, and Elijah, and 27
 Zichri, the sons of Jeroham. These were heads of fathers' 28

believe that it is a confused post-exilic reference to the great Captivity itself.

8-12. The whole section relating to the Shaharaites is obscure. We can neither determine their connexion with the main family line nor shed any light upon the residence of Shaharaim in Moab. But we have clear evidence that post-exilic circumstances are reflected, for Ono (= *Kefr 'Anā*) and Lod (= *Lydda*) of verse 12 originally belonged to Ephraim; and it seems necessary to refer their occupation by Benjamites, and also the settlement in Moab, to post-exilic times.

13-28. This is another fragment disconnected with the context. It certainly does not continue the line of Elpaal (verse 11). It refers to five groups of prominent tribesmen, viz. those of Beriah, Elpaal, Shimei, Shashak, and Jeroham, whose names originally

houses throughout their generations, chief men: these
 29 dwelt in Jerusalem. And in Gibeon there dwelt the
 father of Gibeon, *Jeiel*, whose wife's name was Maacah :
 30 and his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and
 31 Baal, and Nadab ; and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zecher.
 32 And Mikloth begat Shimeah. And they also dwelt with
 their brethren in Jerusalem, over against their brethren.
 33 And Ner begat Kish ; and Kish begat Saul ; and Saul
 begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and
 34 Eshbaal. And the son of Jonathan was Merib-baal ; and
 35 Merib-baal begat Micah. And the sons of Micah ; Pithon,
 36 and Melech, and Tarea, and Ahaz. And Ahaz begat
 Jehoaddah ; and Jehoaddah begat Alemeth, and Azma-
 37 veth, and Zimri ; and Zimri begat Moza : and Moza begat
 Binea ; Raphah was his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son :
 38 and Azel had six sons, whose names are these ; Azrikam,
 Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and
 39 Hanan. All these were the sons of Azel. And the sons
 of Eshek his brother ; Ulam his firstborn, Jeush the
 40 second, and Eliphelet the third. And the sons of Ulam
 were mighty men of valour, archers, and had many sons,
 and sons' sons, an hundred and fifty. All these were of
 the sons of Benjamin.

occurred in verses 13, 14, for verse 14 is to be correctly read thus :
 'and Elpaal his brother (=Ahio) and Shashak and Jeroham.'
 We have already shown the probable connexion of verse 13 with
 vii. 21 (*vide in loco*) ; but nothing is known of the remaining names.

(b) 29-40. *The House of Saul.* Verses 29-38 recur in
 ix. 35-44 (q. v.) with certain orthographical variations. Of the
 ancestors of Saul we learn that they resided mainly in Gibeon
 but that the clan of Mikloth settled in Jerusalem. The connexion
 of the royal line with Benjamin is not stated ; and it is evident
 that some of the links are omitted, for we learn from 1 Sam. ix. 1,
 xiv. 51, that Kish was the son of Abiel, not of Ner. Of Saul's
 sons, Abinadab is certainly another name for Ishui, and Eshbaal
 for Ish-bosheth (cf. also Meribaal and Mephibosheth). The line

[Ch] So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies ; and, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel : and Judah was carried away captive to Babylon for their transgression. Now the first inhabitants that dwell in ² their possessions in their cities were, Israel, the priests,

of David's friend, Jonathan, is traced through thirteen generations. If we place the death of Jonathan in 1010 B.C. (cf. Kennedy on 'Samuel' in *Century Bible*), and allow thirty-five years to a generation, this brings us down to the date of the Captivity in 587 B.C., whence it appears that the section aims at giving the pedigree of the post-exilic community which claimed descent from Saul. The concluding verse is an echo of verse 1, and indicates that the chapter constitutes a well-defined document separate from the rest of the genealogies.

(8) ix. *Post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem.*

The whole chapter is undoubtedly the work of the chronicler, and bears a close relation to Neh. vii. 73, xi. 4-19.

(a) ix. 1-3. *The restored community.* The opening verse of the chapter is a *résumé* of the eight preceding chapters. The chronicler lays stress upon the fact that genealogical records of all Israel, including both kingdoms, had been made and still existed. For fuller information he refers his readers to a source which was readily accessible to them in his day, but which, it must be insisted, is not identical with the canonical Book of Kings. Cf. *Introd.* § iv.

1. Judah was carried away captive. The fall of Jerusalem and the first captivity occurred in 587 B.C., when the armies of Nebuchadnezzar forced their way into the capital and crushed the long resistance of Zedekiah.

for their transgression. All the Hebrew historians recognize that national apostasy was the fundamental cause of national disaster ; and it is quite typical of the prophetic attitude also that the issues of life and conduct should be explained upon the basis of character ; but such interpretations as this are specially characteristic of the chronicler's reverent reading of history.

Verse 2 introduces us to the main subject of the chapter, viz. the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem. The close connexion of the following records with Neh. xi leads us to inquire into their origin. Some have argued from the phrase 'the first inhabitants that dwell in their possessions,' &c., that the chapter is a list of pre-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem ; but this position is now acknowledged to be untenable. The evident resemblance of this chapter to Neh. xi in form and contents conclusively proves

- 3 the Levites, and the Nethinim. And in Jerusalem dwelt
 of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin,
 4 and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh ; Uthai
 the son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri,
 the son of Bani, of the children of Perez the son of Judah.
 5 And of the Shilonites ; Asaiah the firstborn, and his sons.

that this is a case of doublets ; hence the conclusion follows that we are dealing with a list of the early post-exilic residents in the capital. These inhabitants are described in general terms as 'Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim.' The words are not very clear ; but it appears that the general mass of returned exiles, of whatever tribe, were sharply discriminated from the priestly orders, while the latter were divided into priests, Levites (including singers and porters), and Nethinim. We learn from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah that the majority of the returned exiles belonged to the tribes of Judah or Benjamin, and we find the division of the priestly classes here mentioned still in force. The *priests* performed the sacrificial duties of the sanctuary ; the *Levites* superintended the remaining ministrations of the Temple generally ; and the *Nethinim* were the inferior Temple servants. But, while the earlier portion of the chapter evidently refers to this condition of things, the later sections seem to reflect the conditions of the chronicler's own day, when the whole of the lower orders of the Temple ministrants had been reorganized. In course of time the small number of the returned Levites needed to be augmented, especially when the musical service was developed, and this seems to have been done by admitting the Nethinim to the full privileges of the Levites.

The close parallel between our chapter and Neh. xi is evident even to the most superficial reader ; and the most satisfactory explanation is that the list of Neh. xi represents the inhabitants of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's day, whereas 1 Chron. ix is a later list compiled by the chronicler himself upon the basis of Neh. xi.

3. Although Ephraimites and Manassites are said to have swollen the ranks of the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem, not a single member of their tribes is included in the following lists.

(b) 4-9. *Lay residents.* Comparing verses 4-6 with Neh. xi. 4, 5 we find that the chronicler gives one more family of Judah, and comparing verses 7-9 with Neh. xi. 7-9 we find the names of three more Benjamite families in our passage. The three chieftains of Judah represent the clans of Perez, Shilon, and

And of the sons of Zerah ; Jeuel, and their brethren, six 6
hundred and ninety. And of the sons of Benjamin ; Sallu 7
the son of Meshullam, the son of Hodaviah, the son of
Hassenuah ; and Ibneiah the son of Jeroham, and Elah 8
the son of Uzzi, the son of Michri, and Meshullam the
son of Shephatiah, the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah ;
and their brethren, according to their generations, nine 9
hundred and fifty and six. All these men were heads of
fathers' *houses* by their fathers' houses.

And of the priests ; Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin ; 10
and Azariah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the 11
son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the
ruler of the house of God ; and Adaiah the son of Jeroham, 12
the son of Pashhur, the son of Malchijah, and Maasai the
son of Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam,
the son of Meshillemith, the son of Immer ; and their 13
brethren, heads of their fathers' houses, a thousand and
seven hundred and threescore ; very able men for the

Zerah ; but the descendants of Uthai (verse 4) differ from those given in chaps. ii-iv. The numbers given in verse 6 evidently refer to the three families named in verses 4-6. Of Benjamin, we have the names of four leaders, Sallu, Ibneiah, Elah, and Meshullam ; whereas of these Neh. xi. 7-9 gives the name of Sallu only, with different names for all his ancestors except his father, and adds the names of Gabbai, Sallai, Joel, and Judah.

(c) 10-13. *The Priests.* The section agrees with Neh. xi, with the exception of the change of Seraiah to Azariah and of Amashsai to Maasai. It appears that the priests numbered 1,760, and were divided into three classes. The first class comprised the families of Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin ; the second the family of Azariah, who was descended from Ahitub and is mentioned in vi. 13, and was known as 'the ruler of the house of God' ; and the third contained the houses of Adaiah and Maasai. The numbers cannot possibly refer to the 'heads of fathers' houses' ; and it is best to transpose the two opening clauses of verse 13 and refer them to 'their brethren.' But even so we leave a discrepancy between Chronicles and Nehemiah, as the total number of able priests is given in Nehemiah as only 1,192.

14 work of the service of the house of God. And of the Levites; Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari; 15 and Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal, and Mattaniah the 16 son of Mica, the son of Zichri, the son of Asaph; and Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun, and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites. 17 And the porters; Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon, and 18 Ahiman, and their brethren: Shallum was the chief; who hitherto *waited* in the king's gate eastward: they were 19 the porters for the camp of the children of Levi. And Shallum the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah, and his brethren, of his father's house, the Korahites, were over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the tabernacle: and their fathers had been over the camp 20 of the LORD, keepers of the entry; and Phinehas the son of Eleazar was ruler over them in time past, *and* the LORD was

(d) 14-16. *Levites.* (Cf. Neh. xi. 13-19.) Among the Levitic families named here we have one descended from Jeduthun, and one from Asaph, whence it is not improbable that they belonged to the musical guilds. It is noticeable that the chronicler entirely omits Neh. xi. 16, and also fails to give the number of the porters. From this point, moreover, the two records diverge entirely, the chronicler devoting his space mainly to the duties of the porters and Levites, while Nehemiah gives further lists of priests and Levites with their cities.

(e) 17-34. *Duties of Porters and Levites.* Throughout this section the chronicler is thinking of the Temple service of his own day. The *king's gate* was so called because the king always entered by the east doorway (cf. Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2). The ministrations of the Temple porters are traced back for their origin to the old days of the desert wanderings (verses 18-19), and hence the Korahites are confirmed in their privileges as guardians of the gateways. To the statement that Phinehas superintended their order in the days of Joshua, the chronicler adds the characteristic reflection that Jehovah's presence was recognized even in the duty of keeping the doors (verse 20).

with him. Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah was porter 21
of the door of the tent of meeting. All these which were 22
chosen to be porters in the gates were two hundred and
twelve. These were reckoned by genealogy in their
villages, whom David and Samuel the seer did ordain in
their set office. So they and their children had the 23
oversight of the gates of the house of the LORD, even the
house of the tabernacle, by wards. On the four sides were 24
the porters, toward the east, west, north, and south. And 25
their brethren, in their villages, were to come in every
seven days from time to time to be with them : for the 26
four chief porters, who were Levites, were in a set office,
and were over the chambers and over the treasuries in the
house of God. And they lodged round about the house 27
of God, because the charge *thereof* was upon them, and to
them pertained the opening thereof morning by morning.
And certain of them had charge of the vessels of service ; 28
for by tale were they brought in and by tale were they
taken out. Some of them also were appointed over the 29
furniture, and over all the vessels of the sanctuary, and
over the fine flour, and the wine, and the oil, and the
frankincense, and the spices. And some of the sons of 30
the priests prepared the confection of the spices. And 31

We have an isolated historic reminiscence in verse 21, which probably refers to the Davidic door-keepers mentioned in xxvi. 2 ; the verse, however, closes the allusions to ancient observances of the Temple door-keepers. It is not to be assumed that the chronicler was in error in tracing the original appointment of the porters back to the days of David and Samuel, although the service had developed in the interval by an inevitable course of evolution, during which the number of porters grew from its original 93 (cf. xxvi. 10, 11) to the 212 of the chronicler's day. Yet this solitary allusion to the part played by Samuel in organizing the Temple service justifies us in concluding that the names of both Samuel and David are only claimed in a very general way as being the authors of the organization extant in

Mattithiah, one of the Levites, who was the firstborn of Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things
 32 that were baked in pans. And some of their brethren, of the sons of the Kohathites, were over the shewbread, to
 33 prepare it every sabbath. [R²] And these are the singers, heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites, *who dwell* in the chambers *and were free from other service* : for they were
 34 employed in their work day and night. [Ch] These were heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites, throughout their generations, chief men : these dwelt at Jerusalem.
 35 And in Gibeon there dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jeiel,
 36 whose wife's name was Maacah : and his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Ner, and Nadab ;
 37, 38 and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah, and Mikloth. And Mikloth begat Shimeam. And they also dwelt with their
 39 brethren in Jerusalem, over against their brethren. And Ner begat Kish ; and Kish begat Saul ; and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal.
 40 And the son of Jonathan was Merib-baal ; and Merib-baal
 41 begat Micah. And the sons of Micah ; Pithon, and
 42 Melech, and Tahrea, *and Ahaz*. And Ahaz begat Jarah ; and Jarah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri ; and
 43 Zimri begat Moza : and Moza begat Binea ; and Rephaiah

the chronicler's time. David undoubtedly played a large part in reorganizing the ancient system of worship, and it is quite natural to suppose that he was developing a line of action which was in harmony with the labours of Samuel.

Verses 33, 34 sum up the contents of the chapter. Verse 33 is very condensed, and contains late Hebrew expressions, but the sense is clear, viz. that the singers were freed from their other Levitic duties and that they were members of the families already named.

(f) 35-44. *The House of Saul*. This genealogy is merely a repetition of viii. 29-38, and is seemingly introduced here as a connecting link between the condensed history of the genealogies and the fuller narratives which follow.

his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son : and Azel had six 44 sons, whose names are these ; Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and Hanan : these were the sons of Azel.

[H] Now the Philistines fought against Israel : and the 10

Reviewing the genealogical records as a whole, one is struck by the fact that almost everywhere there are signs of an underlying greater symmetry of plan, once prominent, but now no longer recoverable. It is also clear that the terms of relationship are very loosely employed, while the connecting links between the sections are often entirely lost. The chronicler, in his desire to preserve all proofs of the continuity of the national life, was grappling with a problem which presented extraordinary difficulties even in his day, and he has failed to produce order out of the chaos of extant documents and conflicting claims. Yet, on the whole, we have a remarkable *résumé* of the world's history as it concerned the returned exiles, and we see everywhere that this history has been presented by our author so as to meet the needs of his contemporaries.

II. SECOND PART.

x—xxix. The Reign of David.

The chronicler has now reached the point at which he is prepared to take up the genuinely historical and narrative part of his work. He devotes the remainder of the first Book of the Chronicles almost wholly to the events of the reign of David ; and, in the way in which he selects and presents his facts, we have yet further insight into the mental and religious standpoint of the author. In his rapid genealogical survey of ancient history, the chronicler has dropped one by one those races and tribes which seemed to diverge from the line of the Divine purpose for the chosen people. With comparatively few digressions he has traced the history of the post-exilic community in whom (and their ancestors) the Divine will seemed to him to be manifesting itself. Thus he was led by way of Abraham to the tribes of Israel. A certain amount of attention had necessarily to be given to all the tribes owing to their place in the Covenant of promise ; but it is very evident that the chronicler regards the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin, along with Simeon, as the real depositories of the Divine blessing. Much space is given to the religious leaders ; and one cannot fail to realize that the Levites are the supreme consideration in the author's interest.

The chronicler describes the early allocation of territory to the tribes, and intermingles much information as to their post-exilic places of residence, but he entirely omits the whole period of the Judges and the unsuccessful attempt of Saul to found a kingdom. The reason for these and other omissions is plain. By the time of the chronicler the very existence of the ten northern tribes in the promised land had become a matter of ancient history—further away from his contemporaries than the Wars of the Roses are from us. Hence these northern tribes were a negligible factor for one who was tracing the Divine purpose in history, and all interest must centre in the southern kingdom. But the southern kingdom was to all intents and purposes founded solely by David, the divinely chosen favourite of Jehovah. And David had become the ideal hero, the glamour of whose deeds so dazzled the returned exiles that they failed to see his faults. Compared to him, Saul was merely the head of a rejected house, and the preceding Judges were merely individual strong men of an unsettled period which was of little consequence to Hebrew religious history. Therefore the chronicler simply ignored those periods which seemed to have had no part in moulding the ecclesiastical institutions of his day. The reign of David became to him the all-important subject, and that in an idealized form which compelled him to ignore the years of his effete rule in Hebron and to omit such blemishes as the Bath-sheba incident. With regard to the northern monarchy, even the better features are ignored, as though they were entirely obliterated by the national apostasy; its kings are only mentioned in so far as they had contact with Judah; its greatest prophet, Elijah, is but once named, and then only as the author of a letter to a Jewish king; and Elisha is not so much as referred to.

There is no doubt, then, that the chronicler's entire absorption in his own Levitic calling determined his reading of his country's history. How far this impaired his accuracy as an historian has been pointed out already (Intro. § vi). His omissions and his selections do frequently present history in a different light from that of Samuel and Kings. Yet we must not lose sight of the honesty of our present historian. When the Chronicles are read from the view-point of their author they do not appear to be an attempt to construe history for a narrow purpose, much less to misconstrue it. The constant reference of his readers to earlier and extant sources is proof sufficient of this. But it appears that he is really compiling an eclectic history as a kind of up-to-date textbook for the community among which he lived. If we are not warranted in regarding him as an historian of unimpeachable accuracy, we are just as little warranted in undervaluing his position as a religious guide to history. And this view of our author is in complete accordance with the character of the Hebrew

men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell

scriptures, which claimed to be the record of the ways of God among men rather than an infallible narrative of secular history.

The remaining chapters of 1 Chronicles may be roughly divided thus :—

(1) x. Saul's overthrow.

(2) xi-xxi. Establishment of David's kingdom.

(3) xxii-xxix. Preparations for Temple-building.

The material for these chapters is largely taken from 2 Samuel, but there is no extant original of xxii-xxix. From the narratives of 2 Samuel the chronicler omits the account of David's reign in Hebron and all his family discords; the remaining material is only occasionally rearranged; and the whole is worked up in conformity with the distinctly religious aims of the compiler.

The sources of x-xxi may be indicated in a general way thus :—

1 Chron. x. 1-12	...	...	1 Sam. xxxi.
„ xi. 1-9	...	...	2 Sam. v. 1-3, 6-10.
„ xi. 10-41 ^a	...	...	„ xxiii. 8-39 ^a .
„ xiii. 6-18	...	...	„ vi. 2-11.
„ xiv. 1-16	...	...	„ v. 11-25.
„ xv. 25-29	...	...	„ vi. 12-16.
„ xvi. 1-3	...	...	„ vi. 17-19.
„ xvi. 8-22	...	...	Psalm cv. 1-15.
„ xvii-xix	...	...	■ Sam. vii, viii-x.
„ xx	...	...	„ xii. 1, 26-31; xxi. 18-22.
„ xxi	...	...	„ xxiv.

(1) x. *Fall of the House of Saul.*

(1) x. 1-7. *Death of Saul.* (Cf. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1-7.) It is fairly certain that the reign of Saul must be dated 1025-1010 B.C.¹ (Acts xiii. 21 being a general estimate which historic facts show to be excessive). In any case the disastrous battle of Gilboa, which closed Saul's last campaign with the Philistines, occurred about B.C. 1010.

1. the Philistines: the inhabitants of the maritime plain lying between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean. Tradition identifies them with the natives of Crete, belonging to a tribe of Semitic immigrants who settled in the island and subsequently returned to Syria; it seems certain that they entered Syria from the south, by way of Egypt. They proved the inveterate foes of Israel during its early history.

¹ Cf. Excursus on Chronology in *Century Bible*, on Samuel by Kennedy and on Kings by Skinner.

2 down slain in mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed hard after Saul and after his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchi-shua, the sons
3 of Saul. And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers overtook him; and he was distressed by reason of
4 the archers. Then said Saul unto his armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and abuse me. But his armourbearer would not; for he was sore afraid. Therefore
5 Saul took his sword, and fell upon it. And when his armourbearer saw that Saul was dead, he likewise fell
6 upon his sword, and died. So Saul died, and his three
7 sons; and all his house died together. And when all the

Mount Gilboa lies to the south-east of the great Plain of Esdraelon which runs from Carmel to the Jordan valley. In all probability Saul followed the Philistine armies, which had mustered at Aphek, in their march into Esdraelon. Thence the invaders seem to have moved across the plain towards Shunem, and Saul formed his camp on the heights of Gilboa overlooking them. The cause of the campaign is not disclosed, but it may well have been either the desire to secure the route to Damascus for the Philistine traders, or the ambition to gain possession of the Jordan valley. In either case it was essential to dislodge Saul from Mount Gilboa. Hence the attack followed, which must have been delivered from the easier slopes to the south where mounted forces could operate. Saul had the advantage of position, but was overwhelmed by the fury of the Philistine onset. On the mountain-slopes his three sons fell fighting with the courage of despair; and the fugitive and wounded king, refusing to meet humiliation at the invaders' hands, and preferring suicide to insult, must have met death on the loftier crests of the mountain.

3. he was distressed: this implies that the giant king was mentally overwrought, and cannot be made by any means to give the sense of the A. V., 'he was wounded.'

4. abuse me: it was insult before death that Saul dreaded. Death, even suicide, was to him preferable to the indignities which often awaited a captured king. Instances of suicide are very rare in the O. T.

6. all his house: a mode of expressing the fact that the entire staff and body-guard of the king fell in the last despairing resistance on Gilboa.

men of Israel that were in the valley saw that they fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook their cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines 8 came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his sons fallen in mount Gilboa. And they stripped him, and 9 took his head, and his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to carry the tidings unto their idols, and to the people. And they put his armour 10 in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the house of Dagon. And when all Jabesh-gilead heard all 11 that the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men 12

7. The victory of the Philistines was so complete that the cities of the Plain and of the Jordan valley were evacuated before the invaders.

(2) x. 8-12. *Burial of Saul.* (Cf. 1 Sam. xxxi. 8-13.) The account of the indignities heaped upon Saul and his sons is full of a pathetic simplicity. The humiliation of Israel seems all the more complete as contrasted with the exultation in the heathen temples of Philistia. The courageous devotion of the men of Jabesh-gilead is the one bright spot in the midnight.

10. **Dagon:** the only grounds for regarding Dagon as a fish-god is the derivation of the name from *dāg*, 'a fish'—but Philo-Byblius derived it from *dāgān*, 'corn,' and represented the god as a god of husbandry. The latter is the more probable derivation, and seems to accord better with 1 Sam. v. 4. There were temples of Dagon in Gaza (Judges xvi. 21) and at Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 1), but we have no proof that he was the national deity of the Philistines. In the parallel passage of 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 we read 'they put his armour in the house of the Ashtaroth: and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan.' As to the variations from 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, it is evident that the earlier work preserves the correct text, which is also found in the Syriac version of this passage.

11. **Jabesh-gilead:** the site of Jabesh is doubtful, but it lay somewhere in the hills to the east of the Jordan valley, probably on a parallel with Mount Gilboa. The deed of its inhabitants here recorded was probably prompted by gratitude for their deliverance from the Ammonites through Saul's aid several years previously (cf. 1 Sam. xi. 1-10).

arose, and took away the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, and brought them to Jabesh, and buried their bones under the oak in Jabesh, and fasted seven days.

13 [Ch] So Saul died for his trespass which he committed against the LORD, because of the word of the LORD, which he kept not; and also for that he asked counsel of one
14 that had a familiar spirit, to inquire *thereby*, and inquired not of the LORD: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse.

11 [H] Then all Israel gathered themselves to David unto

12. buried their bones: the statement in 1 Samuel, that they first burned the bodies, is unlikely to be correct, and the text needs to be emended.

under the oak: this tree, called ■ 'tamarisk' in 1 Samuel, was probably a well-known one. The tamarisk seems to have been a sacred tree, and the change to 'the oak' may be an intentional variation due to the chronicler's religious bent.

(3) x. 13, 14. *Moral deductions.* These verses form the chronicler's homily upon the historic events recorded. He accuses Saul of disobedience to Jehovah and of complicity with the sorceress of Endor.

14. inquired not of the LORD: as a matter of fact Saul had inquired of Jehovah, but no answer had been vouchsafed; it was only subsequently that he went to the sorceress.

(2) xi-xxi. *Establishment of David's Kingdom.*

(1) xi. *David in Hebron.*

(1) xi. 1-9. *David called to the throne of Israel.* David is introduced by the historian with almost startling suddenness. As the narrative runs it seems to imply that, immediately upon the death of Saul, all Israel assembled at Hebron and ratified the Divine choice of one whom they already knew as a military leader to be their king. And no sooner had the new king entered into a covenant with the Hebrew princes than, on the chronicler's showing, the whole host proceeded to Jerusalem and captured it under the leadership of Joab; and thereupon the kingdom of David attained to its glory. At the same time there is no mention of David's plebeian origin, of his entrance into the service of Saul, of his outlaw life, of his alliance with the Philistines, of his seven and a half years' reign over the southern tribes in Hebron,

Hebron, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. In times past, even when Saul was king, it was thou that² leddest out and broughtest in Israel : and the LORD thy God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be prince over my people Israel. So all³ the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron ; and David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the LORD ; and they anointed David king over Israel, according to the word of the LORD by the hand of Samuel.

or of the long warfare with Ish-bosheth. Evidently the chronicler has omitted all incidents derogatory to the person and rule of David because he desires to show the Divine origin and the ancient glory of the Davidic monarchy. Doubtless the result would be to give such a false impression of the early monarchy as might be called a complete distortion of facts, were it not the case that the larger history was accessible to all readers. And any dishonesty of purpose on the chronicler's part is excluded by the facts that these other histories were at the time permanently established in the national possession and that he constantly refers to supplementary sources of information. For verses 1-9 cf. 2 Sam. v. 1-3 and 6-10.

1. Hebron : David had already reigned over Southern Israel in this ancient stronghold for seven and a half years ; during this time he may have been partially under the suzerainty of the Philistine conquerors of Saul, only gradually becoming strong enough to assert his independence. This troubled period also contains the two years' reign of Ish-bosheth with the military preponderance of Abner.

2. This verse contains the only reference of the chronicler to David's early career. He contents himself with leaving the impression that David had been a great soldier, a national hero, marked out by Divine favours as the future leader of the covenant people.

3. made a covenant : the parley between David and the northern princes resulted in a definition of the duties and relationships of king and people ; it is the foreshadowing of a constitution. Indeed, the entire history of Judah shows that the title to the throne was based upon the dual sanction of the Divine call and the popular election. The remark that these events occurred ' according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Samuel ' is the chronicler's own comment upon the historic facts.

4 And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem (the same is
Jebus); and the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land,
5 were there. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David,
Thou shalt not come in hither. Nevertheless David
took the strong hold of Zion; the same is the city of
6 David. And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebus-
ites first shall be chief and captain. And Joab the son of
7 Zeruiah went up first, and was made chief. And David
dwelt in the strong hold; therefore they called it the city
8 of David. And he built the city round about, from Millo

xi. 4-9. *The Capture of Jerusalem.*

4. Jerusalem: the earliest historic reference to this famous city occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (where it is called U-rusa-lim), about 1400 B.C. At that date it was apparently held for the king of Egypt by a chieftain named Abd-ḥiba. During the four centuries which intervened between that day and its capture by David it seems to have remained in the hands of the Canaanite tribe known as Jebusites. Its position was one of great strategic value; but the lack of references to it implies that it was small and unimportant. David, however, recognized its strength, and determined to make it the capital of the new kingdom. Probably the time of his attack was dictated by the importance of inaugurating his reign over united Israel by a military triumph over an alien fortress.

5. Thou shalt not come in hither. The chronicler omits the greater part of the obscure taunt of the Jebusites, which implied that it was sufficient for the defence of Jebus to man the wall with cripples. But David's veterans proved able to reduce the stronghold, i. e. to secure the eastern ridge of the two hills covered by the modern Jerusalem.

6. The obscure passage of 2 Sam. v. 8, 'let him get up to the watercourse,' &c., is omitted, probably because it was already unintelligible in the chronicler's day. In its place we have the promise of David to raise the successful leader of the siege to the post of commander-in-chief.

8. Millo: more correctly, 'the Millo.' It was an important fortification of the new capital, and may have been of the nature of a fortified embankment connecting the 'city of David' with the 'Temple mount' on the other side of the ravine. It is included among the works of Solomon in 1 Kings ix. 15, and was rebuilt by Hezekiah (cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5). The meaning of the word

even round about : and Joab repaired the rest of the city. And David waxed greater and greater ; for the LORD of 9 hosts was with him.

[Ch²] Now these are the chief of the mighty men 10 whom David had, who shewed themselves strong with him in his kingdom, together with all Israel, to make him king, according to the word of the LORD concerning Israel. [H] And this is the number of the mighty men 11

is more fully discussed in the *Century Bible* on 1 Kings ix. 15 (Skinner).

9. the **LORD of hosts was with him** : the fact that this is not an addition of the chronicler's but a quotation from the earlier source indicates that the later religious reading of history was only a natural outcome of the earlier. The phrase 'LORD of hosts' is a title for the Divine Being which came into use during the later monarchy (cf. Cheyne in *Encycl. Bibl.* on names, § 123).

LORD : a name of somewhat doubtful form, derived from the Hebrew verb 'to be,' which expresses the idea of life, or self-existence. Its probable pronunciation was Yahveh ; but the sense of God's holiness and unapproachableness led the Israelites to shun the utterance of the name and to substitute the vowels of the Hebrew word for 'Lord' ('*Adonai*') for those of 'Yahveh' while retaining its consonants ; hence the English word 'Jehovah' is composed of the consonants of one word and the vowels of another.

(2) xi. 10-47. *David's Heroes*. (Cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39^a.) The warriors who surrounded David in the work of establishing the kingdom were divided into two knightly orders, 'The Three' and 'The Thirty.' Admission to these orders was conditioned by deeds of personal prowess. The register given in verses 10-41^b is derived from 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39, with numerous textual variations, the text of Chronicles being the better preserved ; and the same list is partly repeated in 1 Chron. xxvii. 2-15. Verses 41-47 have no parallel in 2 Samuel, and have evidently been taken from an historic source no longer extant.

10. This verse is original, and constitutes the chronicler's introduction to the following lists. In the heroism of these early kingdom-builders he sees the fulfilment of that Divine purpose which, to him, is so clearly written upon his country's history in the events under the Davidic monarchy.

xi. 11-14. *The Three*. From the hopelessly corrupt readings

whom David had : Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, the chief of the thirty ; he lifted up his spear against
 12 three hundred and slew them at one time. And after him was Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite, who was
 13 one of the three mighty men. He was with David at Pas-dammim, and there the Philistines were gathered together to battle, where was a plot of ground full of barley ; and the people fled from before the Philistines.
 14 And they stood in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and slew the Philistines ; and the LORD saved them by a
 15 great victory. And three of the thirty chief went down to

of 2 Samuel and the versions we may extract what is probably the correct rendering of verse 11, 'Ishbaal the Hachmonite, chief of the Three.' The two other heroes of this select band were Eleazar and Shammah. The chronicler, however, in copying from 2 Samuel has omitted verses 9^b-11^a, which describe the deeds of Eleazar and give the name of Shammah. Owing to this omission, he has continued his narrative in such a way as to ascribe the prowess of Shammah to Eleazar. The narrative requires to be emended by inserting these verses (2 Sam. xxiii. 9^b-11^a) after 'he was with David' (verse 13). By this means we secure a clear account of the deeds of 'The Three' ; and it is probable that the section concluded here with the phrase 'these things did the three mighty men,' which now closes verse 19. But the episode of the three unnamed heroes of the well of Beth-lehem has been inserted in our text in such a way as to imply that their deed of heroism was performed by Ishbaal, Eleazar, and Shammah. This seems to be an unwarranted connexion ; and, moreover, the use of the phrase 'three of the thirty chief' in verse 15 shows that the section, verses 15-19, should probably be placed at the end of the list after the heroes have been named.

13. Pas-dammim : called Ephes-dammim in x. 17, but we have the correct reading here.

xi. 15-19. *Episode of the Well of Beth-lehem.* No more complete proof than this could be given of the utter devotion of these warriors to their outlaw chief ; and David's dedication of the water to Jehovah is an equal proof of his esteem of the courage of his heroes.

15. The word **chief** should probably be omitted with the LXX. The phrase **cave of Adullam** should be rendered 'stronghold of

the rock to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of the Philistines were encamped in the valley of Rephaim. And David was then in the hold, and the ¹⁶ garrison of the Philistines was then in Beth-lehem. And ¹⁷ David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me water to drink of the well of Beth-lehem, which is by the gate! And the three brake through the host of the Philistines, ¹⁸ and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: but David would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the LORD, and said, My God forbid it me, that I should do this: ¹⁹ shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy? for with *the jeopardy* of their lives they brought it. Therefore he would not drink it. These things did the three mighty men. And Abishai, the ²⁰

Adullam'—the fortress, where David and his outlaw band took refuge during Saul's reign, lay high on the western hill-line of Judah overlooking the Shephelah; it was about twelve miles south-west of Beth-lehem, and is represented by the modern 'Aid-el-Mor.

16. Beth-lehem: five miles south of Jerusalem, amid fertile valleys. Although it is to-day entirely without springs, the nearest being 800 yards south-east of the town, its waters were famed in David's day. The incident narrated here describes the temporary occupation of Beth-lehem by the marauding Philistines (cf. 2 Sam. v. 18) and the daring adventure of the three heroes, who, cutting their way through the invaders, brought water for their chieftain from the well which flowed by the gate of Beth-lehem. David's appreciation is well shown by his description of the water as 'the blood of men who have jeopardized their lives.'

xi. 20-25. *The chief of the Thirty.* There is little room to doubt that the text has become obscured by the confusing of the terms 'The Three' and 'The Thirty.' We have really no mention of a second Three. Abishai and Benaiah are merely singled out as prominent members of the Thirty.

20. Abishai: the younger brother of Joab and the nephew of David (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 6 ff.; 2 Sam. ii. 24—iii. 30, x. 10 ff., xviii. 2 ff., xx. 6 ff.).

brother of Joab, he was chief of the three : for he lifted up his spear against three hundred and slew them, and
 21 had a name among the three. Of the three, he was more honourable than the two, and was made their captain :
 22 howbeit he attained not to the *first* three. Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel, who had done mighty deeds, he slew the two *sons of* Ariel of Moab : he went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a
 23 pit in time of snow. And he slew an Egyptian, a man of great stature, five cubits high ; and in the Egyptian's hand was a spear like a weaver's beam ; and he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyp-
 24 tian's hand, and slew him with his own spear. These things did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and had a name
 25 among the three mighty men. Behold, he was more

chief of the three: read, with LXX (B) and Syriac, 'he was captain of the Thirty; he swung his spear over 300 slain and had a name like that of the Three.'

21. The text yields no sense as it stands and must be emended. The opening words, 'Of the Three,' are probably an erroneous duplication of the closing words of verse 20; and the words 'than the two' must either be deleted or read 'as two' (i. e. equal to two). The best rendering, obtained by the aid of verse 25, is 'He was more honourable than the Thirty, and was made their captain; howbeit he attained not to the Three.'

22. Benaiah: the text is corrupt, but may be restored by the aid of the LXX reading of the parallel passage in 2 Samuel, thus: 'Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, a hero of mighty deeds, a native of Kabzeel.' **Kabzeel:** in Southern Judah, on the frontiers of Edom.

sons of Ariel: this is the reading of LXX (L). The rendering of our A. V., 'two lion-like men,' can scarcely be obtained from the original. This deed stands quite distinct from the following statement that he had courage enough to grapple at close quarters with lions famished amid the snow.

23. five cubits high: the Egyptian giant must have stood some eight and a half feet in height. The cubit (= elbow) may roughly be taken as twenty inches.

24. among the three: read, as in verse 20, 'like that of the

honourable than the thirty, but he attained not to the *first* three: and David set him over his guard.

Also the mighty men of the armies; Asahel the brother ²⁶ of Joab, Elhanan the son of Dodo of Bethlehem; Shammoth the Harorite, Helez the Pelonite; Ira the ^{27, 28} son of Ikkesh the Tekoite, Abiezer the Anathothite; Sibbecai the Hushathite, Ilai the Ahohite; Maharai the ^{29, 30} Netophathite, Heled the son of Baanah the Netophathite; Ithai the son of Ribai of Gibeah of the children of ³¹ Benjamin, Benaiah the Pirathonite; Hurai of the brooks ³² of Gaash, Abiel the Arbathite; Azmaveth the Baharumite, ³³ Eliahba the Shaalbonite; the sons of Hashem the ³⁴ Gizonite, Jonathan the son of Shage the Hararite; Ahiam ³⁵ the son of Sacar the Hararite, Eliphal the son of Ur; ³⁶ Hephher the Mecherathite, Ahijah the Pelonite; Hezro ³⁷ the Carmelite, Naarai the son of Ezbai; Joel the brother ³⁸ of Nathan, Mibhar the son of Hagri; Zelek the ³⁹ Ammonite, Naharai the Berothite, the armourbearer of Joab the son of Zeruiah; Ira the Ithrite, Gareb the ⁴⁰

Three.' Benaiah was not classed with the members of the first order, although his renown equalled theirs.

25. over his guard. The royal bodyguard was composed of foreign mercenaries, known as the Cherethites (Heb. *Krēthi*) and the Pelethites (Heb. *Plēthi*); the former, as the LXX indicates, were of Cretan origin, although long reckoned as a Philistine tribe; and the latter were Philistines proper. A new light is shed upon David's attitude to the inveterate foes of the Hebrews when we see him not only putting himself under the flag of Achish, but actually forming his bodyguard of Philistines when he had secured the throne.

26-47. Roll of the Thirty. The list contains more than thirty names. Hence we gather that the name of the order was not intended to convey the idea of a rigid limitation of its members—or else we have names of members who were incorporated when vacancies subsequently occurred (e. g. Asahel, verse 26, fell at the outset of David's reign). The list given in 2 Samuel concludes

- 41 Ithrite; Uriah the Hittite, [H²] Zabad the son of Ahlai;
 42 Adina the son of Shiza the Reubenite, a chief of
 43 the Reubenites, and thirty with him; Hanan the son
 44 of Maacah, and Josphat the Mithnite; Uzzia the
 Ashterathite, Shama and Jeiel the sons of Hotham the
 45 Aroerite; Jediahel the son of Shimri, and Joha his brother,
 46 the Tizite; Eliel the Mahavite, and Jeribai, and Josha-
 viah, the sons of Elnaam, and Ithmah the Moabite;
 47 Eliel, and Obed, and Jaasiel the Mezobaite.
- 12 [Ch] Now these are they that came to David to Ziklag,
 while he yet kept himself close because of Saul the son of

with the name of Uriah (verse 41); but the additions of the chronicler must have been derived from reliable historic sources. Nothing is known of any of these heroes except Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 18-23) and Uriah (2 Sam. xi).

(2) xii. *Register of David's Warriors.*

The chapter is a register of the warriors who allied themselves with David at Ziklag, at Adullam, and at Hebron. The first part, verses 1-22, refers to his fighting men during the days of Saul; the latter part, verses 23-40, registers the warriors who rallied round David in Hebron on Saul's defeat. The whole chapter is the original work of the chronicler, and its sources are no longer extant; but its material is derived 'undoubtedly from very ancient sources, although the chronicler here and there adds a few words in his own style' (Ewald).

(1) xii. 1-22. *David's earliest followers.*

1-7. *Benjamite Warriors with David at Ziklag.*

1. **Ziklag**: probably the modern Zuheilike, in the plains of Philistia, some eleven miles south-east of Gaza. The town was assigned to Simeon at the conquest; but it passed under the power of the Philistines, and was presented by Achish to David on his becoming his vassal (1 Sam. xxvii. 1-7). Here David resided for fourteen months, and his standard was joined by numerous Benjamite freebooters.

because of Saul. One cannot fail to note how completely the chronicler ignores the kingship of Saul, as an apostate who had placed himself outside the channel of the divine purpose for Israel, and how little space he devotes to such events of David's career as his Philistine alliance.

Kish : and they were among the mighty men, his helpers in war. They were armed with bows, and could use both ² the right hand and the left in slinging stones and in shooting arrows from the bow ; they were of Saul's brethren of Benjamin. The chief was Ahiezer, then ³ Joash, the sons of Shemaah the Gibeathite ; and Jeziel, and Pelet, the sons of Azmaveth ; and Beracah, and Jehu the Anathothite ; and Ishmaiah the Gibeonite, a ⁴ mighty man among the thirty, and over the thirty ; and Jeremiah, and Jahaziel, and Johanan, and Jozabad the Gederathite ; Eluzai, and Jerimoth, and Bealiah, and ⁵ Shemariah, and Shephatiah the Haruphite ; Elkanah, ⁶ and Isshiah, and Azarel, and Joezer, and Jashobeam, the Korahites ; and Joelah, and Zebadiah, the sons of Jeroham ⁷ of Gedor. And of the Gadites there separated themselves ⁸ unto David to the hold in the wilderness, mighty men of

2. Saul's brethren : members of the same tribe are meant, not relatives.

3. the Gibeathite : a native of Saul's own town of Gibeah, the modern Tell-el-Fül, four miles north of Jerusalem.

the Anathothite : a native of Anathoth, the modern 'Anāta,' north-east of Jerusalem.

4. Ishmaiah is not mentioned in the list of 'The Thirty' given in ch. xi, although here called their chief.

Gederathite : a native of Gedera, in the lowlands of Northern Judah.

5. Haruphite : a member of the family named in Neh. vii. 24 as B'nē Hariph.

6. Korahites : the late priestly guild of singers. Though they belonged to the tribe of Levi, they are named here as having probably been incorporated with the Benjamites.

xii. 8-18. *David's Warriors in the 'hold.'* The Gadite and Benjamite warriors here named joined David during the first year of his flight from Saul (1 Sam. xxii-xxiv), and were rewarded by being made captains of the outlaw band, which he recruited from the discontented and oppressed of all the tribes till it numbered 600 men. Their names would probably be preserved with pride by their tribesmen.

8. the hold in the wilderness. No single stronghold is here

valour, men trained for war, that could handle shield and spear; whose faces were like the faces of lions, and they were as swift as the roes upon the mountains; Ezer the chief, Obadiah the second, Eliab the third; Mishmannah the fourth, Jeremiah the fifth; Attai the sixth, Eliel the seventh; Johanan the eighth, Elzabad the ninth; Jeremiah the tenth, Machbannai the eleventh. These of the sons of Gad were captains of the host: he that was least was equal to an hundred, and the greatest to a thousand. These are they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks; and they put to flight all them of the valleys, both toward the east, and toward the west. And there came of the children of Benjamin and Judah to the hold unto David. And David went out to meet them, and answered and said unto them, If ye be come peaceably unto me to help me, mine heart shall be knit unto you: but if *ye be come* to betray me to mine adversaries, seeing there is no wrong in mine hands, the God of our fathers look thereon, and rebuke it. Then the spirit came upon Amasai, who was

referred to. David occupied various mountain refuges in the wilds of Judah, and the aid of such men of military prowess as the eleven Gadite heroes must have been very welcome to him during his flight from Saul. We are unable to determine the time when the exploit of verse 15 was performed; but it evidently represents deeds wrought in the defence of David. To cross the Jordan when swollen to a rushing torrent by the melting snows of Lebanon and then make a victorious raid into the plains demanded considerable prowess.

xii. 16-18. These verses record the advent of a band of warriors from Benjamin and Judah, giving the name of their chief alone. David held a parley with the new recruits to learn whether they were trustworthy men or mere emissaries of Saul. Their spokesmen voiced their determination to be loyal to David in poetic language.

18. the spirit came upon Amasai. The speaker has been variously and uncertainly identified with Amasa and with Abishai.

chief of the thirty, *and he said*, Thine are we, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse: peace, peace be unto thee, and peace be to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth thee. Then David received them, and made them captains of the band. Of Manasseh also there fell away 19 some to David, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to battle, but they helped them not: for the lords of the Philistines upon advisement sent him away, saying, He will fall away to his master Saul to the jeopardy of our heads. As he went to Ziklag, there fell 20 to him of Manasseh, Adnah, and Jozabad, and Jediael, and Michael, and Jozabad, and Elihu, and Zillethai, captains of thousands that were of Manasseh. And they 21 helped David against the band of rovers: for they were all mighty men of valour, and were captains in the host. For from day to day there came to David to help him, 22 until it was a great host, like the host of God.

The inspiration of the Divine Spirit is recognized as the guiding factor in the conduct of the troop of warriors; and, as usual, the utterance of men under the influence of a higher Power is represented as taking poetical shape. Although the language of the text bears no trace of its earliest and perfect poetical form, it can still be recognized as poetry by its parallelism:—

To thee (we belong), O David;
 and with thee (we stand), O son of Jesse:
 Peace, peace, to thee,
 and peace to thy helpers:
 For thy helper is thy God.

xii. 19-22. *Recruits from Manasseh.* We are definitely informed that the seven captains from the tribe of Manasseh deserted from Saul to David on the eve of the campaign which ended in the rout at Gilboa. The events here referred to are narrated in 1 Sam. xxix. 2-II. David had resolved to be loyal to his patron and overlord, Achish of Gath, even though it involved war upon his countrymen; but the Philistine chiefs distrusted him, and insisted upon his dismissal. At this point the recruits from Manasseh joined him and proved a valuable aid in avenging the Amalekite raid upon Ziklag.

22. The verse is a summary of the facts concerning the con-

23 And these are the numbers of the heads of them that were armed for war, which came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him, according to the word
 24 of the LORD. The children of Judah that bare shield and spear were six thousand and eight hundred, armed
 25 for war. Of the children of Simeon, mighty men of valour for the war, seven thousand and one hundred.

stant accession of Israelite warriors to David. The band of adherents grew steadily throughout his outlaw days, and must have received a large accession after the carnage at Gilboa. The courage and strength of his bands led the chronicler to describe them as 'like the host of God.'

(2) xii. 23-40. *The King-makers of Hebron.* The discrepancies between this narrative and the earlier histories are more apparent than real. It is, indeed, implied here that so soon as Saul fell the Philistines abandoned their conquests, so that the leaders and people from all the tribes were able to gather in their thousands to acclaim David king at Hebron. Thus the whole of David's reign of seven and a half years at Hebron, the long conflict with the house of Saul, and the gradual extension of David's ascendancy over the northern tribes are passed over in silence. The early days of the monarchy of David are so stripped of all derogatory features as to seem to rise in a blaze of glory which did not really exist. Yet the modern charge levelled against the chronicler of perverting history is mitigated when we remember how frequently he refers his readers to the contemporary records, where the supplementary facts were stated. Our narrative, then, is a condensed representation of the event which ultimately took place, when all Israel finally acknowledged the divine call of David, ratifying his selection unanimously and enthusiastically. Observe that there is no note of time either here or in the briefer record of the national acquiescence in David's kingship given in xi. 1-3.

Various questions are evoked by the enumeration of the warriors who assembled at Hebron. Evidently the figures refer to the entire bands ('heads' of verse 23) which mustered at the proclamation of David as king. Judah's contingent, and also Simeon's, are represented as comparatively insignificant; but these tribes had already accepted David's rule for seven and a half years, and needed not to send a large contingent to the recognition ceremony. If the Benjamites were also few, it was probably accounted for by the distrust existing in Saul's tribesmen towards the late king's

Of the children of Levi four thousand and six hundred. 26
 And Jehoiada was the leader of *the house of* Aaron, and 27
 with him were three thousand and seven hundred; and 28
 Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's
 house twenty and two captains. And of the children of 29

outlawed son-in-law. Ephraim, too, may have been influenced by its hereditary jealousy for Judah to send but few representatives as compared with the half tribe of Manasseh. And, again, the large contingents from Zebulun and Naphtali only speak of the prosperity of their more peaceful districts.

The numbers actually given are as follows:—

Judah	...	...	6,800	
Simeon	...	...	7,100	
Levi	...	...	4,600	
With Jehoiada	...	...	3,700	
With Zadok	...	...	(814(?))	22 captains.
Benjamin	...	...	3,000	
Ephraim	...	...	20,800	
Half Manasseh	...	...	18,000	
Issachar	...	...	(7,400(?))	200 captains and their men.
Zebulun	...	...	50,000	
Naphtali	...	...	37,000	1,000 captains.
Dan	...	...	28,600	
Asher	...	...	40,000	
Trans-Jordanic tribes	...	...	120 000	
			339,600	1,222 captains.

(or 347,814 including the estimate of Issachar and Zadok's men).

Although the figures are evidently only round numbers, there is no cause for doubting their general accuracy. The omission of the numbers for Issachar is probably an error arising in transcription from the fuller records which must have been available to the chronicler.

27. Jehoiada: probably identical with the father of Benaiah (cf. xi. 27), and designated here 'leader of Aaron' because he was head of the priestly clans which joined David at Hebron.

28. Zadok: he afterwards became high-priest. The prosperity of the house of Eleazar is here shown by the fact that it could muster two and twenty captains, or clan-leaders. If the basis of representation be the same for all the contingents, as Naphtali had 1,000 captains to 37,000 men, then Zadok brought 814 men with him.

Benjamin, the brethren of Saul, three thousand : for hitherto the greatest part of them had kept their allegiance to the house of Saul. And of the children of Ephraim twenty thousand and eight hundred, mighty men of valour, famous men in their fathers' houses. And of the half tribe of Manasseh eighteen thousand, which were expressed by name, to come and make David king. And of the children of Issachar, men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do ; the heads of them were two hundred ; and all their brethren were at their commandment. Of Zebulun, such as were able to go out in the host, that could set the battle in array, with all manner of instruments of war, fifty thousand ; and that could order *the battle array*, and were not of double heart. And of Naphtali a thousand captains, and with them with shield and spear thirty and seven thousand. And of the Danites that could set the battle in array, twenty and eight thousand and six hundred. And of Asher, such as were able to go out in the host, that could set the battle in array, forty thousand. And on the other side of Jordan, of the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and of the half tribe of Manasseh, with all manner of instruments of war for the battle, an hundred and twenty thousand. All these, being men of war, that could order the battle array, came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all Israel : and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to make David king. And they were there with David three days, eating and

32. Issachar : on the same basis of representation the tribal contingent must have numbered 7,400 men.

39. eating and drinking : the clansmen of Judah had prepared for a festive celebration of the proclamation of their leader as king of reunited Israel. But the 'joy in Israel' took the form of a great

drinking: for their brethren had made preparation for them. Moreover they that were nigh unto them, *even* as 40 far as Issachar and Zebulun and Naphtali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, victual of meal, cakes of figs, and clusters of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep in abundance: for there was joy in Israel.

And David consulted with the captains of thousands 13

national festival in which all the tribes played a part in preparing for the festivities.

(3) xiii-xvi. *Early days of David's Reign.*

The register of David's heroes which extends from xi. 10 to xii. 40 has interrupted the orderly narrative of history upon which the chronicler had set out in ch. x. He has already described the conquest of Jebus and the establishment of Jerusalem as the capital of the reunited people. He now continues the narrative with an account of the removal of the Ark to the capital, a statement regarding David's building operations, and the increase of his harem, and with a review of the organization of the national religious life.

The four chapters of this section are derived, with various changes, from the narrative of 2 Samuel, thus:—

xiii. 6-14	...	...	...	2 Sam. vi. 2-4.
xiv. 1-16	...	...	...	„ v. 11-25.
xv. 25-29	...	...	...	„ vi. 12-16.
xvi. 1-3	...	...	...	„ vi. 17-19.
xvi. 8-22	...	...	...	Psalms cv. 1-15.

Throughout the section the most noticeable features are the prominence given to the Levites and the tacit assumption that the regulations of the priestly code had been observed from the early days of David. The chronicler is reading the past in the light of his own day.

(a) xiii. *Removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim.*

The victory of David over the alien inhabitants of the fortress of Jebus was a brilliant inauguration of the new monarchy; but the determination to ensconce within the new capital the sacred symbol of the presence of Jehovah with His people is an evident proof of the political foresight and religious enthusiasm of the king. The presence of the Ark added a glamour of sanctity to the royal city; and its removal thither afforded another opportunity for a national gathering under David's auspices. Prior to the

2 and of hundreds, even with every leader. And David said unto all the assembly of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and if it be of the LORD our God, let us send abroad

bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem there had been no authorized and authoritative centre for the national worship. Ancient shrines existed and religious rites were performed in many spots, and the worship of Jehovah upon the high-places was recognized as legitimate. Prophets (e. g. Samuel at Bethlehem) and kings (e.g. Saul at Gilgal) were accustomed to lead the people in worship and sacrifice, but there was no central sanctuary extant. The lodging of the Ark in Jerusalem was the first step in the centralization of the religious life of Israel, which proceeded on a perfectly natural course under the Levitical and priestly systems until the Deuteronomic code secured its authoritative adoption.

xiii. 1-5. *The Ark of God.* The consultation of David with the military chieftains is not recorded in the parallel account in ■ Sam. vi, but the earlier narrative is of such a nature as to lead us to suspect that something has been omitted. The mustering of 30,000 men from all Israel (2 Sam. vi. 1) implies that a warlike expedition was contemplated, and it needs no great knowledge of the relations between Israel and her neighbours to suppose that the Philistines were the object of the campaign in question. This supposition, moreover, throws light upon the question of the popular attitude towards the Ark¹. It is highly probable that the Philistines had maintained their authority over the cities of the Gibeonite league, of which Kiriath-jearim was a member; so that the Ark, although allowed to return to territory belonging by right to Israel, had virtually remained under Philistine power ever since the Hebrew defeat in the days of Eli. If, now, David had returned from a successful campaign against the Philistines, which had restored Kiriath-jearim to Israel, it was at length possible to turn attention to the national symbol of Jehovah's presence. Such highly probable suppositions would further explain the unbroken silence of Hebrew historians regarding the Ark in the period between Eli and David. At the same time, this neglect of the Ark is almost inconceivable if during all this time it had still been in the uninterrupted possession of the people of Israel.

1. There is no indication of time, but the events recorded here followed the capture of Jebus (xi. 1-9) and the probable subsequent campaign against Philistia.

¹ Cf. Kennedy, on 'Samuel,' in *Century Bible*, Appendix, for a full discussion of the place occupied by the Ark in Israel.

every where unto our brethren that are left in all the land of Israel, with whom the priests and Levites are in their cities that have suburbs, that they may gather themselves unto us : and let us bring again the ark of our God to us : 3 for we sought not unto it in the days of Saul. And all 4 the assembly said that they would do so : for the thing was right in the eyes of all the people. So David 5 assembled all Israel together, from Shihor *the brook* of

2. priests and Levites. There is no mention of Levites in the narrative of Samuel. Later conditions are reflected in the chronicler's description.

3. the ark of our God : Heb. Arōn, the wooden chest in which were kept the Tables of stone (2 Chron. v. 10). It is known by various titles which are to some extent peculiar to the schools of religious thought extant during different ages in Hebrew history. The earliest title, found in the prophetic school of writers and the early histories, is 'the Ark of Jehovah.' The Deuteronomic school preferred the title 'Ark of the Covenant,' and the author of Deuteronomy informs his readers that it was made of acacia wood (x. 3). The priestly school employed the title 'Ark of the Testimony,' and one of their number describes it as overlaid with gold and surmounted by an elaborate lid (Exod. xxv). As the chronicler mainly compiled his history from the earlier works of the prophetic school, he employed the titles used in the Hexateuch (JE section) and early histories alongside of later expressions. The following titles are actually found in his work :—

The Ark		18 times.
Ark of God		11 „
Ark of our God		1 „
Ark of thy strength		1 „
Ark of the Covenant		11 „
Ark of Jehovah		5 „

He invariably shows his sense of the sanctity of the Ark.

sought not unto it in the days of Saul. Probably the long residence of the Ark within the sphere of the Philistine power had produced a general indifference to it during Saul's time.

4. A great national assembly is convened for the solemn convoy of the sacred Ark to Jerusalem. But the sway of David at this time was scarcely so extensive as the territory whence the people are said to have been summoned.

5. Shihor of Egypt : the modern El Arish, a wady fifty miles south-west of Gaza, which divided Syria from Egypt.

Egypt even unto the entering in of Hamath, to bring the
 6 ark of God from Kiriath-jearim. [H] And David went
 up, and all Israel, to Baalah, *that is*, to Kiriath-jearim,
 which belonged to Judah, to bring up from thence the
 ark of God, the LORD that sitteth upon the cherubim,
 7 which is called by the Name. And they carried the ark
 of God upon a new cart, *and brought it* out of the house
 8 of Abinadab: and Uzza and Ahio drave the cart. And
 David and all Israel played before God with all their
 might: even with songs, and with harps, and with
 psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with
 9 trumpets. And when they came unto the threshing-floor
 of Chidon, Uzza put forth his hand to hold the ark; for
 10 the oxen stumbled. And the anger of the LORD was

the entering in of Hamath: the mountain pass between Hermon and Lebanon, some distance south of Hamath (the modern Hama on the river Orontes), was regarded as the northern limit of Palestine.

xiii. 6-14. *First Attempt to bring up the Ark.* The design of bringing the Ark to the citadel of Zion was hindered by an unfavourable occurrence; it was, however, reattempted with success three months later. The chronicler changes the earlier account in many minor points to bring it into harmony with the thought of his day.

6. to Baalah, that is, to Kiriath-jearim: Kiriath-jearim ('the city of the Woods') lay on the western border of Benjamin in Mount Jearim, nine miles west of Jerusalem. It is probably represented by the modern Khuret 'Erma, south of the mountains, although others associate it with Kuriet 'Eneb to the north. The fact that the Ark rested there in the house of Abinadab for seventy years was the probable origin of the alternative name Baalah (from Baal, 'Lord', a title used for 'Jehovah'). The town was one of the four included in the Gibeonite league (Joshua ix. 17), and probably contained many Philistine inhabitants at this time.

called by the Name: i.e. where Jehovah was invoked in worship. The latter part of the verse, descriptive of the Ark, bears the appearance of being a late insertion.

7. Abinadab. Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 1.

9. Chidon: called Nacon in 2 Samuel vi. 6 and omitted in LXX.

10-11. There is a critical tendency to day to regard this incident

kindled against Uzza, and he smote him, because he put forth his hand to the ark: and there he died before God. And David was displeased, because the LORD had broken 11 forth upon Uzza: and he called that place Perez-uzza, unto this day. And David was afraid of God that day, 12 saying, How shall I bring the ark of God home to me? So David removed not the ark unto him into the city 13 of David, but carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. And the ark of God remained with the 14 family of Obed-edom in his house three months: and the LORD blessed the house of Obed-edom, and all that he had.

And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, 14

as unhistorical and to treat it as a traditional explanation of the place-name Perez-Uzza. The chronicler's view, however, is that the Ark was a symbol of Jehovah's presence, so sacred that it could not be touched with impunity even from the best of motives. No moral transgression is implied in the thoughtless rashness of Uzza, but rather the unapproachable sanctity of Jehovah Himself is emphasized. The whole proceedings were in open violation of the regulations laid down in Num. iv. 5, 15.

13. Obed-edom the Gittite. Much ingenuity has been exercised in explaining the act of David in entrusting the sacred Ark to a Philistine guardian. Some critics (e. g. T. K. Cheyne) hold that the Ark had never really left Philistine territory, being merely shifted from the temple of Dagon to a private house, and that it was in a great campaign against Gath (cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 20) that David recovered the Ark and subsequently carried it to Baalah, whence he removed it to Jerusalem. This is ingenious, but it is far more probable, and does less violence to the narrative, to regard Obed-edom as a naturalized Philistine enjoying all the religious privileges of the worshippers of Jehovah. David would have no antipathy to such a man, as we see from the fact that he subsequently chose his bodyguard from Philistine warriors. In xv. 18, 24 we find an Obed-edom actually enrolled among the Levitical doorkeepers.

(b) xiv. *David's Buildings, Harem, and Early Wars.*

The chronicler at this point departs from the order of events as narrated in 2 Sam. vi, and returns to matters treated earlier in

and cedar trees, and masons, and carpenters, to build him
 2 an house. And David perceived that the LORD had
 established him king over Israel, for his kingdom was
 exalted on high, for his people Israel's sake.

3 And David took more wives at Jerusalem: and David
 4 begat more sons and daughters. And these are the
 names of the children which he had in Jerusalem;
 5 Shammua, and Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon; and
 6 Ibhar, and Elishua, and Elpelet; and Nogah, and
 7 Nepheg, and Japhia; and Elishama, and Beeliada,
 and Eliphelet.

2 Samuel, but all of which clearly display David's zeal for the new kingdom (cf. 2 Sam. v. 11-25).

xiv. 1, 2. *Royal Architecture.* The king's first concern was for the construction of a palace which should be a fit sign of his power. In this he was aided by the friendly offices of the king of Tyre.

1. **Hiram**: the dates of the reign of Hiram I (cf. Joseph., *c. Ap.* i. 18) are generally accepted as 968-935 B.C. If we regard this as accurate then the events of this chapter must have occurred towards the close of David's reign and are misplaced here; for Solomon, whose friend Hiram was, apparently reigned from 971 to 932 B.C. Of course the statement of Josephus, which is based upon the Chronicle of Meander of Ephesus, may be incorrect; but it is more probable that the name of Hiram has crept into our text by an error for that of his father Abiba'al. The connexion implies that the king of Tyre, who probably was in full sympathy with David as a common enemy of the Philistines, sent congratulations to David upon his accession, and that David thereupon requested help in his schemes of palace-building. Tyre was noted for its skilled craftsmen.

3-7. *The Royal Harem.* It is entirely in accord with early oriental ideas that the power and glory of a king should be reflected in the size of his harem. The names of David's new wives are not given; but the names of the thirteen sons born to him in Jerusalem are given as in 1 Chron. iii. 5-8, with only orthographical variations. The parallel list in 2 Sam. v. 15, 16 omits the names of Elpelet and Nogah, and agrees with 1 Chron. iii. 8 in reading Eliada for the more correct Beeliada.

And when the Philistines heard that David was 8
 anointed king over all Israel, all the Philistines went up
 to seek David: and David heard of it, and went out
 against them. Now the Philistines had come and made 9
 a raid in the valley of Rephaim. And David inquired of 10
 God, saying, Shall I go up against the Philistines? and
 wilt thou deliver them into mine hand? And the LORD
 said unto him, Go up; for I will deliver them into thine
 hand. So they came up to Baal-perazim, and David 11
 smote them there; and David said, God hath broken
 mine enemies by mine hand, like the breach of waters.
 Therefore they called the name of that place Baal-perazim.
 And they left their gods there; and David gave com- 12

xiv. 8-17. *Philistine Campaigns.* Considerable obscurity surrounds the question of David's relationship to the Philistines in the early part of his career. We know, of course, that he willingly put himself under the protection of Achish in the year preceding the Philistine victory of Gilboa. But it is highly probable that he continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Philistines for several years to come, reigning at Hebron with the sanction of the conquerors of Saul. Meantime he won his way by diplomacy and by increasing power. When, however, he was recognized as king by the reunited tribes of Israel, the Philistines determined to exert their strength and humiliate a vassal who was attaining a menacing degree of independence. Hence the campaigns here recorded. The parallel passage in 2 Sam. v seems to connect this campaign with a period prior even to the capture of Jebus, when David still ruled in Hebron (cf. 2 Sam. v. 17-25 and xiii. 13).

9. valley of Rephaim: cf. note on xi. 16.

10. inquired of God. This is the usual phrase for asking counsel of Jehovah through the sacred oracle. The questions were put in such a manner that a direct affirmative or negative reply could be given. The answer in this case is in apparent conflict, but in real agreement, with that given in 2 Samuel.

12. left their gods: 'images' in 2 Sam. v. Probably the chronicler regarded it as inconsistent for David to retain such spoil, and therefore added the statement that he burned the idols in accordance with the injunctions of Deut. vii. 5. This is quite a typical addition on the part of our author.

13 mandment, and they were burned with fire. And the
 14 Philistines yet again made a raid in the valley. And
 David inquired again of God; and God said unto him,
 Thou shalt not go up after them: turn away from them,
 and come upon them over against the mulberry trees.
 15 And it shall be, when thou hearest the sound of marching
 in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt go
 out to battle: for God is gone out before thee to smite
 16 the host of the Philistines. And David did as God
 commanded him: and they smote the host of the
 17 Philistines from Gibeon even to Gezer. And the fame of
 David went out into all lands; and the LORD brought
 the fear of him upon all nations.

15 [Ch] And *David* made him houses in the city of

14. mulberry trees: a better rendering is 'baca-bushes.' The exact tree intended is uncertain: but the leaves were of such a kind as to make a sound like 'weeping' when rustled by the breeze. All Semitic races regarded trees as the haunts of spirits and as means of guidance by omens.

16. from Gibeon even to Gezer: the Gibeon in question must be some place near Jerusalem, but the valley along which the Philistine flight took place contains several towns of this name. Gezer is the modern Tell-Jezer.

17. This verse is a characteristic addition of the chronicler's.

(c) xv-xvi. 3. *The Ark brought to Jerusalem.*

The authentic original narrative of the successful convoy of the Ark to Jerusalem is found in 2 Sam. vi. 11-23, and the remarkable differences between it and our present narrative can have but one explanation. The chronicler has evidently taken the facts of the earlier record and given them a modern setting, rewriting the incident so as to present what might have been the course of the ceremony if the Ark had been transferred to the capital in the fourth century B.C. instead of what actually occurred in the tenth century B.C. As he is practically writing a church-history, he deals mainly with the ecclesiastical side of the function. The whole ceremony is represented as an elaborately planned ecclesiastical affair rather than as a popular gathering; Levites now dominate the scene; and the organization is as complete as it was in the days succeeding Ezra's reforms. Of

David; and he prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent. Then David said, None ought ² to carry the ark of God but the Levites: for them hath the LORD chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister unto him for ever. And David assembled all Israel at ³ Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the LORD unto its place, which he had prepared for it. And David gathered ⁴ together the sons of Aaron, and the Levites: of the sons ⁵ of Kohath; Uriel the chief, and his brethren an hundred and twenty: of the sons of Merari; Asaiah the chief, and ⁶ his brethren two hundred and twenty: of the sons of ⁷ Gershon; Joel the chief, and his brethren an hundred and thirty: of the sons of Elizaphan; Shemaiah the ⁸ chief, and his brethren two hundred: of the sons of ⁹ Hebron; Eliel the chief, and his brethren fourscore: of ¹⁰

course this is not genuine history in our sense of the term; but early events are presented in such a garb as to render them appreciable to the uncritical readers of the compiler's own age. Changes so great as this are unlikely, however, to be entirely the work of the chronicler; and it has been pointed out by Kittel and other critics that more hands than his must have been at work here. Signs of later work in his source occur in such matters as the sixfold division of the Levites (verses 5-10), whereas the chronicler really knows of only three divisions in David's time (xxiii. 1 ff.).

xv. 1-16. *Renewed Conference regarding the transport of the Ark.*

1. prepared a place for the ark: in connexion with his own palace-building David prepared a place for the sacred Ark, erecting a new tent for it, probably after the model of the ancient Tabernacle.

2. to carry the ark: the regulations of Num. i. 50, iv. 15, vii. 9, x. 17 determine that the Levites were to carry the Ark whenever it required to be moved, the duty devolving upon the sons of Kohath, with whom were associated the Gershonites and the Merarites. These injunctions had been disregarded in the earlier popular attempt to bring up the Ark.

4-10. The six Levitical clans are represented as being summoned by the king for the ecclesiastical convoy of the Ark. They gathered at Jerusalem, to the number of 862 men, under the

the sons of Uzziel; Amminadab the chief, and his
 11 brethren an hundred and twelve. And David called for
 Zadok and Abiathar the priests, and for the Levites, for
 Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, and
 12 Amminadab, and said unto them, Ye are the heads of the
 fathers' *houses* of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, both ye
 and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of the
 LORD, the God of Israel, unto *the place* that I have
 13 prepared for it. For because ye *bare it* not at the first,
 the LORD our God made a breach upon us, for that
 14 we sought him not according to the ordinance. So
 the priests and the Levites sanctified themselves to bring
 15 up the ark of the LORD, the God of Israel. And the
 children of the Levites bare the ark of God upon their
 shoulders with the staves thereon, as Moses commanded
 16 according to the word of the LORD. And David spake
 to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren the
 singers, with instruments of music, psalteries and harps

leadership of Uriel, Asaiah, Joel, Shemaiah, Eliel, and Amminadab. Their numbers are differently given in the LXX.

11. Zadok and Abiathar: joint high-priests at the time; but the chronicler does not recognize the legitimacy of the house of Ithamar in his genealogical tables.

12. sanctify: the original meaning of the word is 'to set apart for sacred uses,' and, in the present case, it implied the due performance of the rites of purification.

13. because ye bare it not: the failure of the first convoy is traced to the disregard of Levitic regulations.

15. as Moses commanded: cf. Num. vii. 9.

16. the singers: David is consistently represented by the chronicler as the prime organizer of the musical service of the Temple, and there is no room to doubt that he did actually lay the foundation of the elaborate choirs which rendered the service of praise in the second Temple. As to the instruments mentioned here, the *psaltery* resembled a long box with convex sounding-board, over which wire strings were stretched; the *harp* would be more correctly described as a lute; and the *cymbal* was a brass instrument to which was attached a bell.

and cymbals, sounding aloud and lifting up the voice with joy. So the Levites appointed Heman the son 17 of Joel ; and of his brethren, Asaph the son of Berechiah ; and of the sons of Merari their brethren, Ethan the son of Kushaiah ; and with them their brethren of the second 18 degree, Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and Benaiah, and Maaseiah, and Mattithiah, and Eliphelehu, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, the doorkeepers. So the singers, 19 Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, *were appointed*, with cymbals of brass to sound aloud ; and Zechariah, and Aziel, 20 and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries set to Alamoth ; and Mattithiah, and Eliphelehu, and Mikneiah, 21 and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps set to the Sheminith, to lead. And Chenaniah, chief of the 22

xv. 17-24. *The great Procession.* The procession conveying the Ark evidently took the following order :—At the head came the great choir of vocalists and instrumentalists under the leadership of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan ; in the centre came the Ark, preceded by Chenaniah, two door-keepers and seven priests with trumpets, and followed by two more door-keepers ; lastly the king and the troops brought up the rear.

17, 18. The leaders of song and the custodians, or door-keepers, are carefully named, as is natural by an author belonging to their order.

18. *Ben* is certainly a scribal error, and must be omitted with some Hebrew MSS. The forms of other names in the list are corrupt and unreliable.

19, 20. Three bands of musicians were appointed with cymbals, psalteries, and harps respectively. Heman, Asaph, and Ethan were the actual leaders of the choirs, and the two other bands acted as instrumentalists.

20. *psalteries set to Alamoth* : the expression is obscure. It has been explained as indicating soprano, or female voices ; but may probably be taken here as indicating a high pitch of tone.

21. *harps set to the Sheminith* : i. e. an octave lower than the psalteries.

xv. 22-24. The list of Levites in the procession closes with the

Levites, was over the song : he instructed about the song,
 23 because he was skilful. And Berechiah and Elkanah
 24 were doorkeepers for the ark. And Shebaniah, and
 Joshaphat, and Nethanel, and Amasai, and Zechariah,
 and Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, did blow with the
 trumpets before the ark of God : and Obed-edom and
 25 Jehiah were doorkeepers for the ark. [Ch²] So David,
 and the elders of Israel, and the captains over thousands,
 went to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out
 26 of the house of Obed-edom with joy : and it came to pass,
 when God helped the Levites that bare the ark of the
 covenant of the LORD, that they sacrificed seven bullocks
 27 and seven rams. And David was clothed with a robe of
 fine linen, and all the Levites that bare the ark, and the
 singers, and Chenaniah the master of the song *with* the

names of the leader of the convoy, seven trumpeters, and four custodians of the Ark.

22. Chenaniah is said to have been 'over the song,' but the verse is obscure and it is preferable to read 'over the transport,' in spite of the LXX. The Hebrew word is נָשָׂא, which almost invariably means a 'burden' and is the usual word for the bearing of the Ark.

xv. 25—xvi. 3. *Ritual and Festivities.* The chronicler, having given at considerable length the disposition of the Levites, now returns to the narrative of 2 Sam. vi. 12^b–19, which he follows with considerable variations.

26. In 2 Sam. vi. 13 we find the expression 'they that bare the Ark,' but the chronicler expressly states that these were Levites. He also describes the royal sacrifice as consisting of the 'seven bullocks and seven rams' demanded by the later ecclesiastical legislation, whereas the author of Samuel puts it at 'an ox and a fatling'—although it is quite possible to explain the discrepancy by referring the sacrifices to different points on the route.

27. We have here a description of the priestly garb worn alike by king and Levites. The author of Samuel also speaks of David's participation in the whirling dance, resembling that of the Dervishes, which preceded the Ark. The chronicler's omission of the dancing of David is not due to any sense of its incongruity, for he alludes to it in verse 29, nor can it be explained as a con-

singers: [R²] and David had upon him an ephod of linen. [H] Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the 28 covenant of the LORD with shouting, and with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, sounding aloud with psalteries and harps. And it came 29 to pass, as the ark of the covenant of the LORD came to the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at the window, and saw king David dancing and playing; and she despised him in her heart. And they brought in the ark of God, and set it in the midst of the 16 tent that David had pitched for it: and they offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before God. And when David had made an end of offering the burnt offering 2 and the peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the LORD. And he dealt to every one of Israel, 3 both man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread, and a portion of *flesh*, and a cake of raisins.

[Ch] And he appointed certain of the Levites to 4

fusion of the somewhat similar words for dancing and being clothed (*mekarker* and *mekurbal*); it arose simply from his intention of describing the dress of the king and priests.

ephod of linen: evidently a kind of tunic or short skirt worn round the waist; the phrase seems to be a late gloss.

29. Michal (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 27). It was the scantiness of the royal attire that gave offence to Michal.

xvi. 1-3. The success of the transport of the Ark was celebrated by sacrifices and national rejoicing. David performed an act which was the exclusive prerogative of the priesthood when he 'invoked the name of Jehovah' over the people; but throughout the ceremony the priestly character of the kingship is acknowledged, in that David also wore priestly garments and offered sacrifice.

3. The royal bounty was extended to all the people present. It consisted of bread and raisins and certain other victuals, although it is impossible to say whether the unknown word used of the latter refers to flesh or to wine.

xvi. 4-43. *The Religious Festival and the Service before the Ark.* The substance of this section is not found in 2 Samuel, where

- minister before the ark of the LORD, and to celebrate and to thank and praise the LORD, the God of Israel :
- 5 Asaph the chief, and second to him Zechariah, Jeiel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Mattithiah, and Eliab, and Benaiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, with psalteries and with harps ; and Asaph with cymbals, sounding aloud ;
- 6 and Benaiah and Jahaziel the priests with trumpets continually, before the ark of the covenant of God.
- 7 Then on that day did David first ordain to give thanks unto the LORD, by the hand of Asaph and his brethren.

verse 43 of this chapter follows immediately upon verse 3 (cf. 2 Sam. vi. 19^b, 20^a). David's first care was to order the musical service for the new abode of the sacred Ark.

4. to celebrate (Heb. *lehazkir*) is the musical term for the chanting of the set Psalms at the hour of worship ; the word is used in the superscription of Psalms xxxviii and lxx ; **to thank** (Heb. *lehôdôth*) refers to Psalms which tell of the goodness of God ; and **to praise** (Heb. *lehallel*) indicates Psalms of joy.

5, 6. The Levites appointed to lead the worship before the Ark were taken from among those named in the procession (xv. 17-21), omitting Heman and Ethan from among the chief singers, and also omitting five instrumentalists and five trumpeters.

7. David appointed Asaph to conduct the service of song. There follows at once a specimen of the songs used by the Asaphite guild of singers. The first fifteen verses of this song are identical with Psalm cv. 1-15 ; the next eleven are found in Psalm xcvi ; and the doxology occurs in Psalm cvi. 1, 47-8. The questions of authorship, sources, and date are thus raised at the outset. All modern critics assign these Psalms to the post-exilic period upon indisputable internal evidence ; and, consequently, we must conclude either that the present song is a skilful composition from portions of three popular songs of the second Temple, or that the authors of three of these later Psalms have each appropriated a portion of the original Davidic song. But the whole tendency of the chronicler is to compile his matter from various sources and to carry back the familiar things of his own day to the different conditions of the past. Hence we naturally reach the conclusion that he either composed the song from songs in use in his day, or that he found it in its present composite form as a late Psalm—the former being the more probable. Doubtless the chronicler was guided by contemporary

[H] O give thanks unto the LORD, call upon his name :

Make known his doings among the peoples.

Sing unto him, sing praises unto him ; 9

Talk ye of all his marvellous works., 10

Glory ye in his holy name : 10

Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the LORD.

Seek ye the LORD and his strength ; 11

Seek his face evermore.

Remember his marvellous works that he hath done ; 12

His wonders, and the judgements of his mouth ;

O ye seed of Israel his servant, 13

Ye children of Jacob, his chosen ones.

He is the LORD our God : 14

His judgements are in all the earth.

Remember his covenant for ever, 15

The word which he commanded to a thousand generations ;

The covenant which he made with Abraham, 16

And his oath unto Isaac ;

And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a statute, 17

To Israel for an everlasting covenant :

Saying, Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, 18

The lot of your inheritance :

When ye were but a few men in number ; 19

Yea, very few, and sojourners in it ;

opinion in selecting such a specimen of the early Psalmody before the Ark.

xvi. 8-22. Cf. Psalm cv. 1-15. The singer calls for praise to Jehovah for His wondrous deeds, celebrates the glory of His covenant with Israel, and tells of the sufficiency of His grace vouchsafed to the patriarchs.

13. Israel his servant: Ps. cv. 6, 'Abraham his servant.' All the references of this section are to the early days of Hebrew history and are uttered in a tone of buoyant praise.

- 20 And they went about from nation to nation,
And from one kingdom to another people.
- 21 He suffered no man to do them wrong;
Yea, he reproved kings for their sakes;
- 22 *Saying*, Touch not mine anointed ones,
And do my prophets no harm.
- 23 Sing unto the LORD, all the earth;
Shew forth his salvation from day to day.
- 24 Declare his glory among the nations,
His marvellous works among all the peoples.
- 25 For great is the LORD, and highly to be praised:
He also is to be feared above all gods.
- 26 For all the gods of the peoples are idols:
But the LORD made the heavens.
- 27 Honour and majesty are before him:
Strength and gladness are in his place.
- 28 Give unto the LORD, ye kindreds of the peoples,
Give unto the LORD glory and strength.
- 29 Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name:
Bring an offering, and come before him:
Worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness.
- 30 Tremble before him, all the earth:
The world also is stablished that it cannot be moved.
- 31 Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them say among the nations, The LORD
reigneth.
- 32 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof;

xvi. 23-33. Cf. Psalm xcvi, omitting clauses from verses 1, 2, 10, and 13. The singer calls for universal praise and worship, and speaks of the rejoicing of inanimate nature at Jehovah's presence.

27. gladness . . . in his place: the chronicler's variant for 'beauty in his sanctuary.'

31. The clauses of Ps. xcvi. 10 are transposed.

Let the field exult, and all that is therein ;
Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy before 33
the LORD,

For he cometh to judge the earth.

O give thanks unto the LORD ; for he is good : 34

For his mercy *endureth* for ever.

And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation, 35

And gather us together and deliver us from the
nations,

To give thanks unto thy holy name,

And to triumph in thy praise.

Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, 36

From everlasting even to everlasting.

And all the people said, Amen, and praised the LORD.

[Ch] So he left there, before the ark of the covenant 37
of the LORD, Asaph and his brethren, to minister before
the ark continually, as every day's work required : and 38

33. This recognition of the universality of God's reign and of the sole reality of Jehovah as the living God is found only in the more developed, later religious thought of Israel.

xvi. 34-6. Cf. Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48. The song concludes with a burst of praise in the doxology.

35. The opening clause paraphrases Ps. cvi. 47.

36. The exhortation which closes Ps. cvi. 48 is here turned into a record of the popular response at the close of the service of song.

xvi. 37-43. *The Levites and Public Worship.* During the sojourn of the Ark in land under Philistine sway the centre of Hebrew religious interest still continued to be the ancient Tabernacle at Gibeon. David had now formed a new centre in Zion by bringing back the Ark, and the first steps were possible towards the real centralization of worship. The organization of worship at the new shrine consequently engaged his early attention and he sought to allocate the Levites to the service of Jehovah in the capital.

37. Asaph, with his guild, was left in charge of the service before the Ark and of the daily routine of worship.

Obed-edom with their brethren, threescore and eight ;
 Obed-edom also the son of Jeduthun and Hosah to be
 39 doorkeepers : and Zadok the priest, and his brethren
 the priests, before the tabernacle of the LORD in the high
 40 place that was at Gibeon, to offer burnt offerings unto
 the LORD upon the altar of burnt offering continually
 morning and evening, even according to all that is written
 in the law of the LORD, which he commanded unto Israel ;
 41 and with them Heman and Jeduthun, and the rest that
 were chosen, who were expressed by name, to give thanks
 42 to the LORD, because his mercy *endureth* for ever ; and
 with them Heman and Jeduthun *with* trumpets and
 cymbals for those that should sound aloud, and *with*
 instruments for the songs of God : and the sons of

38. Obed-edom with their brethren : either a name has dropped out or we should read 'his brethren,' with the LXX. The name of Obed-edom occurs so frequently (cf. xv. 21, 24, &c.) that more than one individual may be designated ; the corruption of the text leaves the identity an open question.

39. Zadok and his guild were left in charge of the ancient Tabernacle at the high-place in Gibeon. Zadok was the legitimate representative of Eleazar's line and therefore was entrusted with the care of the older shrine. Probably the Tabernacle had been moved to Gibeon after the slaughter of the priests at Nob by Saul, and it is to be inferred that Nob had been chosen as its resting-place after the destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines in the earlier days of Saul.

high place (Heb. *bāmāh*) : the regular designation for the eminence outside a town which was consecrated to the worship of the deities by the early Canaanite inhabitants of the land. The Israelites appropriated these early shrines for the worship of Jehovah. Such worship was regarded as legitimate prior to the rise of the later Deuteronomic school ; for instance, Samuel leads the worship at the high-place at Bethlehem ; and no word of condemnation is uttered against it by either Elijah or Elisha. Hence there is nothing to excite wonder in the presence of the Tabernacle and the brazen altar at the *bāmāh* of Gibeon.

41. With Zadok at Gibeon were the musicians Heman and Jeduthun (i. e. Ethan).

42. Evidently the first clause of the verse has been wrongly

Jeduthun to be at the gate. And all the people departed 43 every man to his house: and David returned to bless his house.

[H] And it came to pass, when David dwelt in his 17 house, that David said to Nathan the prophet, Lo, I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of the covenant of the LORD *dwelleth* under curtains. And Nathan said 2

repeated by an oversight from verse 41. The LXX omits the names and reads 'with them were trumpets and cymbals, &c.'

43. Cf. 2 Sam. vi. 19^b–20^a. The chronicler omits the scene of domestic altercation with Michal, as derogatory to the splendour of the early monarchy.

(4) xvii. *The Temple and the Dynasty* (cf. 2 Sam. vii).

Upon the completion of the royal palace the king realized how incongruous it was that the Ark of God should be housed in a tent; consequently he proceeded at once to lay before the prophet Nathan plans for the erection of a Temple. The fact that this incident is narrated immediately after that of the convey of the Ark to Jerusalem is merely due to the natural connexion of the themes; but in all probability several years elapsed between them. The entire chapter occurs in 2 Sam. vii, where its whole tone and form are such as to suggest that it must have been recast in its present form by a later Deuteronomic redactor, who took the opportunity of clearly expressing in it the developed Messianic hope of the later years of the monarchy; this has led critics to date its composition about 600 B.C., in the time of Josiah. The chronicler embodies it in his narrative with the usual redactional variations.

xvii. 1–6. *David's plan to build a Temple.*

1. **Nathan the prophet** appears to have been the court-prophet of the reigns of David and Solomon. He evidently held an important position in the royal household; he was admitted to the king's council regarding the Temple, and was respectfully listened to in his rebuke which followed the murder of Uriah; he may also have occupied the post of chronicler, for he wrote a history of the times of David and Solomon (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 29 and 2 Chron. ix. 29).

the ark of the covenant of the LORD: a phrase specially common in the Deuteronomic school of writers.

under curtains: cf. xvi. 1. David's purpose to build a Temple is merely implied in the comparison between his own palace and the tent; but the implication is unmistakable.

unto David, Do all that is in thine heart ; for God is with thee. And it came to pass the same night, that the word of God came to Nathan, saying, Go and tell David my servant, Thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in : for I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up Israel, unto this day ; but have gone from tent to tent, and from *one* tabernacle *to another*. In all places wherein I have walked with all Israel, spake I a word with any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me an house of cedar ? Now therefore thus shalt thou say unto my servant David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, from following the sheep, that thou shouldst be prince over my people Israel : and I have been with

xvii. 2-6. Nathan's approval of the king's suggestions was due to a natural sympathy with his religious zeal. However, during the night's communion with God the matter appeared in a different light. It was against all precedent for the Ark to be housed otherwise than in the simplicity of the earlier days.

2. **God is with thee** : the chronicler frequently substitutes the word 'God' (Heb. *'Elohim*) for 'the LORD' (i. e. Jehovah) of Samuel (cf. xiii. 8, 12, 14, xiv. 10, 11, 14, 15, xvi. 1, 2).

4. **Thou shalt not build me an house** : from the narratives of Samuel and Kings we gather that the lack of precedent was not the sole cause of the veto placed upon David's plan. David himself was not the man for such an undertaking, seeing that he was a man of war and that his hands were not clean.

5. **from tent to tent** : the chronicler's apparent expansion of the language of the earlier history is due to an evident corruption of the text. The LXX and Syriac preserve traces of the briefer reading, but the point emphasized is the primitive simplicity of the early religious institutions as compared with the elaborate ritual of later Judaism.

xvii. 7-15. *The Dynasty confirmed*. The prophet returns with a message from God to David. He reminds the king of former mercies ; he declares that God's favour will be continued to Israel ; and he foretells the duration of the dynasty. Throughout

thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies from before thee; and I will make thee a name, like unto the name of the great ones that are in the earth. And I will appoint a place for my people 9 Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be moved no more; neither shall the children of wickedness waste them any more, as at the first, and *as* from the day that I commanded judges to 10 be over my people Israel; and I will subdue all thine enemies. Moreover I tell thee that the LORD will build thee an house. And it shall come to pass, when thy 11 days be fulfilled that thou must go to be with thy fathers, that I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall be of

there are traces of rhythmic structure in Nathan's utterance, as is so often the case with the words of the prophets, but it is no longer possible to restore their poetical form without doing more violence to the text than is permissible. The parallelism, which forms the basis of Hebrew poetry, can be traced throughout, except in verse 11.

9. be moved no more: this phrase is generally held to be a proof that the words were pre-exilic; but it is by no means certain that the later Jews ever regarded the Exile as a destruction of the dynasty; and, in any case, the chronicler saw no reason to emend the words of Nathan to bring them into line with history.

10. the LORD will build thee an house: this is the promise of God to David, and it stands in clear contrast to David's desire to build a house for God.

11. thy seed: we have here an expansion and explanation of the simple promise of verse 10. But it must be observed that the promise is not connected with any individual; it is quite general and concerns the Davidic dynasty (cf. 'his house,' i. e. David's house). As, therefore, the structure of the Hebrew sentences compels us to refer verse 11 and the concluding verses of the passage to David's 'seed' generally and not to a specific son of David, it is held by many modern scholars that verse 12 is a later insertion to harmonize with the promise to Solomon regarding the Temple. The chronicler undoubtedly takes the word 'seed' in the later Messianic sense and omits various phrases (e. g. 'if he commit iniquity,' &c.) from the narrative of 2 Samuel to secure a fuller harmony with later ideas regarding the Messiah.

12 thy sons ; and I will establish his kingdom. He shall
 build me an house, and I will establish his throne for
 13 ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son : and
 I will not take my mercy away from him, [Ch²] as I took
 14 it from him that was before thee : but I will settle him
 in mine house and in my kingdom for ever : and his
 15 throne shall be established for ever. [H] According to
 all these words, and according to all this vision, so did
 Nathan speak unto David.

16 Then David the king went in, and sat before the LORD ;
 and he said, Who am I, O LORD God, and what is my
 17 house, that thou hast brought me thus far ? And this
 was a small thing in thine eyes, O God ; but thou hast
 spoken of thy servant's house for a great while to come,
 and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man

The full Messianic significance of the passage is carefully discussed by Prof. Briggs in *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 126 ff.

14. for ever : it is again noticeable that the chronicler uses the words of the final assurance in reference to 'the seed' of David in the Messianic sense, whereas 2 Samuel refers them directly to David himself. The whole verse has been remodelled by our author.

xvii. 16-27. *David's Prayer of Thanksgiving.*

16. David . . . sat before the LORD : the effect upon David of the promise of God through Nathan was the production of humiliation and gratitude. Entering the tent of the Ark he voiced the prayer which is given in verses 16-27. One cannot fail to trace in all the religious exercises practised by David at this time a close resemblance to the practices of the modern Dervishes : when the Ark was carried up to the citadel he danced the whirling dance of the Dervish before it ; he now assumes the attitude of sitting for prayer, i.e. he would sink down upon his heels while keeping head and body erect. This attitude for prayer is mentioned nowhere else in the O. T.

17. The latter half of the verse is so corrupt that it is scarcely possible to offer any satisfactory alternative to the present reading. Evidently the phrase in 2 Sam. vii. 19 was already utterly obscure in the days of the chronicler, but he replaced it by one equally obscure. Perhaps we get as near as possible to the original

of high degree, O LORD God. What can David *say* yet 18
 more unto thee concerning the honour which is done to
 thy servant? for thou knowest thy servant. O LORD, 19
 for thy servant's sake, and according to thine own heart,
 hast thou wrought all this greatness, to make known all
these great things. O LORD, there is none like thee, 20
 neither is there any God beside thee, according to all
 that we have heard with our ears. And what one nation 21
 in the earth is like thy people Israel, whom God went to
 redeem unto himself for a people, to make thee a name
 by great and terrible things, in driving out nations from
 before thy people, which thou redeemedst out of Egypt?
 For thy people Israel didst thou make thine own people 22
 for ever; and thou, LORD, becamest their God. And 23
 now, O LORD, let the word that thou hast spoken con-
 cerning thy servant, and concerning his house, be
 established for ever, and do as thou hast spoken. And 24
 let thy name be established and magnified for ever,
 saying, The LORD of hosts is the God of Israel, even a
 God to Israel: and the house of David thy servant is
 established before thee. For thou, O my God, hast 25

meaning if we read, with Ewald, 'and hast made me look upon the ranks of men onward' (i. e. upon his descendants).

18. The better reading is preserved in 2 Samuel.

21. Again the text is very confused; but the variations are evidently due to the chronicler's desire to present Jehovah's redeeming mercies to Israel without the necessity of alluding to the deities of heathen races; cf. note on 2 Sam. vii. 23 (*Century Bible*: Kennedy).

22. The covenant relationship between Jehovah and His people is regarded as a unique distinction between Israel and the heathen.

24. **let thy name be established**: 'the Name' (i. e. Jehovah) is frequently used for God Himself, in that it designates God in His personal existence in relation to Israel.

even a God to Israel: the redundance is a modification of the original.

revealed to thy servant that thou wilt build him an house: therefore hath thy servant found *in his heart* to pray
 26 before thee. And now, O LORD, thou art God, and
 27 hast promised this good thing unto thy servant: and now it hath pleased thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may continue for ever before thee: for thou, O LORD, hast blessed, and it is blessed for ever.

18 [H] And after this it came to pass, that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them, and took Gath and
 2 her towns out of the hand of the Philistines. And he

(5) xviii-xx. *David's Campaigns and Officials.*

The material for these chapters is derived from 2 Sam. viii, x, xi. 1, xii. 26-31, xxi. 18-22, with little variation. The original is a condensed account of the wars of David, such as frequently stands at the close of the history of a reign. In making use of it the chronicler narrates David's victories over Philistia, Moab, Zobah, Damascus, and Edom (ch. xviii), and gives a list of the chief officers of state. Then follows the account (ch. xix) of the arduous campaign against the Ammonites and Syrians, which is apparently taken from a different source than 2 Sam. viii. And, lastly, we have (ch. xx) the narrative of the capture of Rabbah, derived from 3 Sam. xxi, with a brief appendix of the names of certain heroes. From the narrative of 2 Samuel the chronicler omits the chequered picture of David's family troubles, of his crime regarding Uriah, and of the fate of Saul's sons. The few divergencies from the original are due mainly to obscurities in the text or to condensation.

xviii. *Wars and Ministers of State* (cf. 2 Sam. viii).

(1) xviii. 1. *War with the Philistines.*

1. **Gath and her towns:** the chronicler's rendering of 'the bridle of the mother city' of 2 Sam. viii. 1—a very plausible emendation of a text which must already have been obscure. It is far from certain whether the original will bear the rendering of 'the mother city' (R.V.). The Hebrew אמה means 'a cubit,' and can scarcely be taken as an equivalent for אם 'mother,' i. e. metropolis. But the unmistakable meaning is that David threw off the Philistine yoke from Israel and established his supremacy over the lands ruled by the lords of Gath.

Gath is represented to-day by extensive ruins around a conspicuous hill called the Tell-es-Safieh, which rises from the plain at

smote Moab ; and the Moabites became servants to David, and brought presents. And David smote Hadarezer king of Zobah unto Hamath, as he went to stablish his dominion by the river Euphrates. And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen : and David houghed all the chariot horses, but reserved of them for an hundred chariots. And when the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Hadarezer king of Zobah, David smote of the Syrians two and twenty thousand men. Then David put *garrisons* in Syria of Damascus ; and the Syrians became servants to David, and brought presents. And the LORD gave victory to David whithersoever he went. And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadarezer, and brought them to Jerusalem. And from

the foot of the hills of Judah. It was one of the five royal cities of Philistia.

(2) **2. War with Moab.**

The chronicler entirely omits all reference to the cruelty which David, in the hour of victory, displayed to the land which had once offered asylum to his parents. The reasons for David's changed attitude are unknown ; but he reduced the land to subjection and imposed tribute upon it.

(3) **3, 4. War with Zobah.**

Zobah was a petty Aramaean kingdom in the neighbourhood of Damascus. In xix. 6 we read of provocation which led to this war ; in the issue, however, David extended his frontiers to Hamath and the Euphrates. Textual errors here, as so frequently in the O. T., account for the discrepancies in the numbers of the captives.

(4) xviii. 5-10. **War with Damascus, &c.**

5. Damascus : a city of the remotest antiquity, lying in a fertile plain east of Hermon. The city rises like an island of white from the midst of orchards at the foot of a range of limestone hills. It was proverbial for its great prosperity. David seems to have established his suzerainty over it, and to have exacted tribute.

Tibhath and from Cun, cities of Hadarezer, David took very much brass, [Ch²] wherewith Solomon made the brasen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass.

9 [H] And when Tou king of Hamath heard that David
 10 had smitten all the host of Hadarezer king of Zobah, he sent Hadoram his son to king David, to salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadarezer and smitten him; for Hadarezer had wars with Tou; and *he had with him* all manner of vessels of gold and
 11 silver and brass. These also did king David dedicate unto the LORD, with the silver and the gold that he carried away from all the nations; from Edom, and from Moab, and from the children of Ammon, and from the
 12 Philistines, and from Amalek. Moreover Abishai the son of Zeruiah smote of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt

8. Tibhath and . . . Cun: 2 Samuel reads Betah and Berothai. Cun may be the same as Cuna-Cunnae, between Laodicea and Heliopolis (Kittel).

the brasen sea, &c.: this account of the use which Solomon made of the captured brass is the chronicler's addition to the text of 2 Samuel, and is prompted by his unique interest in all Temple matters. From our text the LXX has also introduced these statements into the parallel passage in 2 Samuel.

9. Hamath: an important city on the river Orontes. It may have been the capital of the early Hittite kingdom.

11. These also did king David dedicate: in accordance with the ancient custom of dedicating spoils to the god of the country, David dedicates these gifts to Jehovah.

(5) xviii. 12, 13. *Wars with Edom.*

12. Abishai: as the author of 2 Samuel refers only to David in this connexion, it appears that the original text, where also 'Syrians' is wrongly read for 'Edom,' was already doubtful; probably 'Abishai' is a misinterpretation of the words 'had returned' of 2 Sam. viii. 13 (Heb. שׁוּבוּ, *b^oshūbō*). The inscription of Psalm lx attributes the victory to Joab.

the Valley of Salt: the modern Wady-el-Milh, which branches off from the Wady-es-Seba' at Beër-sheba. The two wadies form a kind of indefinite first frontier between Israel and

eighteen thousand. And he put garrisons in Edom; ¹³ and all the Edomites became servants to David. And the LORD gave victory to David whithersoever he went.

And David reigned over all Israel; and he executed ¹⁴ judgement and justice unto all his people. And Joab ¹⁵ the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder. And Zadok the son of ¹⁶ Ahitub, and Abimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests; and Shavsha was scribe; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada ¹⁷ was over the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and the sons of David were chief about the king.

the steppes beyond. It was the scene of more than one conflict between Israel and Edom (cf. 2 Chron. xxvi: 11).

(6) xviii. 14-17. *David's administration.*

14. he executed judgement and justice: David was personally accessible to all the people, and acted in the capacity of chief justice.

15. Joab . . . was over the host: i. e. commander-in-chief of the national militia; all able-bodied men seem to have been liable to military service.

recorder: he probably held a position analogous to the grand vizier of an Eastern court, keeping the king apprised of the affairs of state. The Hebrew word (*maskir*) denotes 'one who reminds.'

16. Zadok . . . and Abimelech: a certain amount of confusion has here crept into the narrative; cf. note on vi. 4-15. *Zadok*, here mentioned for the first time, did not belong to the house of Eli (i. e. of Ithamar) as here represented. If he was actually the 'son of Ahitub' (cf. vi. 8), then this is a different Ahitub from the priest of that name of Eli's line, for Zadok was the legitimate representative of the house of Eleazar. On the other hand, *Abiathar* was the son of Abimelech (or Ahimelech), the son of Ahitub. The representatives of the two rival lines fulfilled a dual high-priesthood under David.

Shavsha: LXX Sousa, 2 Sam. Seraiah; the correct form cannot now be determined. The post he occupied was that of secretary to the king; it possibly included the duties of royal historian and custodian of the state records.

17. Cherethites and . . . Pelethites: the royal bodyguard composed of Carian and Philistine mercenaries. Cf. note on xi. 25.

the sons of David were chief about the king: the author

19 And it came to pass after this, that Nahash the king of the children of Ammon died, and his son reigned in his
 2 stead. And David said, I will shew kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, because his father shewed kindness to me. So David sent messengers to comfort him concerning his father. And David's servants came into the land of the children of Ammon to Hanun, to comfort him.
 3 But the princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanun, Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? are not his servants come unto thee for to search, and to overthrow, and to
 4 spy out the land? So Hanun took David's servants, and shaved them, and cut off their garments in the middle,
 5 even to their buttocks, and sent them away. Then there went certain, and told David how the men were served.

of Samuel says emphatically that they were 'priests'; but the chronicler, writing at a time when the priesthood was the exclusive prerogative of the house of Levi, changed what he must have regarded as an unjustifiable assertion, in accordance with his custom throughout his work of compilation. Even the LXX has changed the 'priests' of 2 Samuel into 'chiefs of the court,' ἀρχαῖ.

(7) xix—xx. 3. *Wars with Ammon and Syria* (cf. 2 Sam. x, xi. 1, xii. 26-31).

This campaign was the outcome of an insult offered by the suspicious and boastful king of Ammon to the ambassadors whom David had sent to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne. The chronicler omits all reference to the guilty relations of David and Bath-sheba, which were so closely connected with these events. The narrative concludes with an account of the siege and fall of the Ammonite metropolis.

1. **Nahash** had warred against Israel in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 1 ff.), and had naturally been in sympathy with his outlawed son-in-law.

3. **to spy out the land**: the Ammonite chieftains, probably rendered suspicious by David's conquest of Edom and Moab, suggest that the ambassadors had come to Rabbah as spies.

4. **Hanun** treats the inviolable persons of David's embassy with every mark of insult and contumely.

And he sent to meet them; for the men were greatly ashamed. And the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return. [Ch²] And when the 6 children of Ammon saw that they had made themselves odious to David, Hanun and the children of Ammon sent a thousand talents of silver to hire them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Aram-maacah, and out of Zobah. So they hired them thirty and two 7 thousand chariots, and the king of Maacah and his people; who came and pitched before Medeba. And the children of Ammon gathered themselves together from their cities, and came to battle. [H] And when 8 David heard of it, he sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men. And the children of Ammon came out, 9 and put the battle in array at the gate of the city: and the kings that were come were by themselves in the field. Now when Joab saw that the battle was set against him 10 before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel,

6. The Ammonites immediately recognized what must be the inevitable consequences of their outrage upon the ambassadors of a victorious neighbour; and they hastened to secure their position by an alliance with the petty kings of Syria. The number of chariots supplied by the king of Maacah looks suspicious for so insignificant a state. The names of the allies of Hanun differ so widely in Chronicles and 2 Samuel that it is impossible to harmonize them.

7. **Medeba:** the allies pitched their camp at Medeba, on the tableland of Moab, south of Heshbon.

8. Joab was at once dispatched with the nucleus of the national army to take the field against the allies.

9. **at the gate of the city:** evidently they fell back upon the capital, Rabbah, and formed their line of battle before the gates.

xix. 10-13. The Syrian allies had contrived to turn the wing of the Hebrew army and take them in the rear. Joab, therefore, with a band of picked men, directs his operations against them, leaving Abishai to attack the Ammonite warriors. Promises of mutual support are given and words of encouragement spoken before the onset.

11 and put them in array against the Syrians. And the rest of the people he committed into the hand of Abishai his brother, and they put themselves in array against the
 12 children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me : but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help
 13 thee. Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God : and the LORD
 14 do that which seemeth him good. So Joab and the people that were with him drew nigh before the Syrians
 15 unto the battle ; and they fled before him. And when the children of Ammon saw that the Syrians were fled, they likewise fled before Abishai his brother, and entered
 16 into the city. Then Joab came to Jerusalem. And when the Syrians saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they sent messengers, and drew forth the Syrians that were beyond the River, with Shophach the
 17 captain of the host of Hadarezer at their head. And it was told David ; and he gathered all Israel together, and

13. for the cities of our God : the phrase is unusual, and, as no Hebrew cities were actually in danger, it is conjectured that the correct reading should be 'for the Ark of our God.' Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 11 (Klostermann, Budde, &c.).

15. Joab came to Jerusalem : the early part of the campaign was now over, and Joab, having defeated the Syrians and compelled the Ammonites to abandon the open country, returned to Jerusalem satisfied with his temporary success. The activity of the enemy, however, soon reassumed formidable proportions through the formation of a Syrian confederacy (verse 16). There is no sufficient reason for regarding this narrative as a doublet of 2 Sam. viii. 3-8, for it is not improbable that Hadarezer should have recovered strength sufficiently to take the field once more against David.

16. beyond the River : Hadarezer's authority is here represented as extending beyond the Euphrates into Assyria.

17. all Israel : David mustered the entire fighting strength of Israel for a decisive stroke. The battle is said to have taken

passed over Jordan, and came upon them, and set the battle in array against them. So when David had put the battle in array against the Syrians, they fought with him. And the Syrians fled before Israel; and David 18 slew of the Syrians *the men of* seven thousand chariots, and forty thousand footmen, and killed Shophach the captain of the host. And when the servants of Hadar- 19 ezer saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they made peace with David, and served him: neither would the Syrians help the children of Ammon any more.

And it came to pass, at the time of the return of 20 the year, at the time when kings go out *to battle*, that Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem. And Joab smote Rabbah, and overthrew it. And David took the crown 2 of their king from off his head, and found it to weigh a

place at Helam (2 Sam. x. 17), probably Aleppo, which is called Helman in the Assyrian inscriptions.

18. the Syrians fled: the defeat became a rout and a carnage. The numbers of the slain are corrupt.

19. they made peace: David extended his supremacy over the domains of the Aramaean confederacy. As a result of this victory he was in a position to deal with the Ammonites single-handed.

xx. 1. the return of the year: cf. 2 Sam. xi. 1. After the time of the early rains the spring campaign is opened with offensive operations by Joab. The open country is desolated and the siege of the capital is hotly and successfully pressed.

Rabbah: the modern 'Ammān, was situated about twenty-two miles east of the Jordan on one of the head-waters of the river Jabbok. In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus it received the name of Philadelphia, and was colonized by Greek settlers.

xx. 2-3. Cf. 2 Sam. xii. 26-31. We learn from the earlier history that Joab captured the lower portions of the city, which lay on either side of the Wady 'Ammān, and then summoned David to reduce the citadel.

2. the crown of their king: the LXX reads 'of Milcom,'

talent of gold, and there were precious stones in it ; and it was set upon David's head : and he brought forth the
 3 spoil of the city, exceeding much. And he brought forth the people that were therein, and cut *them* with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes. And thus did David unto all the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem.

4 And it came to pass after this, that there arose war at Gezer with the Philistines : then Sibbecai the Hushathite slew Sippai, of the sons of the giant : and they were sub-
 5 dued. And there was again war with the Philistines ; and Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a

i. e. of the god of Ammon. That this is probably the correct reading is seen in the fact that no man could wear a crown which, at the lowest estimate, weighed 54 lb. avoirdupois, and also in the fact that the same consonants may be read either as 'their king' or as 'Milcom.' Probably the meaning is that the crown of the idol weighed half a hundredweight, and contained a precious stone which was set upon David's head.

3. cut them with saws: clearly the chronicler means to state that David tortured the captives. The author of Samuel so expresses himself as to leave it indeterminable whether he alludes to torture or to forced labour (cf. R. V. margin). Modern opinion inclines to interpret the original as referring to compulsory toil upon the royal buildings.

(8) xx. 4-8. *The Philistine Champions slain.*

The three cases of heroism against the giants of Gath are narrated in 2 Sam. xxi. 18-22. There they are preceded by the account of David's narrow escape from Ishbi-benob ; but the chronicler omits a narrative which appeared to tarnish David's fame in war.

4. at Gezer : 2 Samuel reads Gob, an unknown locality. Gezer lay on an isolated hill, the modern Tell Jezer, in the northern Shephelah.

5. Lahmi the brother of Goliath: the variation from the text of Samuel is very marked, and betrays an evident attempt to do away with the difficulty raised by the statement of the earlier historian that 'Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite

weaver's beam. And there was again war at Gath, where 6
 was a man of great stature, whose fingers and toes were
 four and twenty, six *on each hand*, and six *on each foot*;
 and he also was born unto the giant. And when he defied 7
 Israel, Jonathan the son of Shimea David's brother slew
 him. These were born unto the giant in Gath; and 8
 they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his
 servants.

[Ch²] And Satan stood up against Israel, and moved 21

slew Goliath the Gittite.' That statement has sometimes been
 construed as a proof that the story of David's early heroism and
 victory over Goliath is merely the invention of a popular hero-
 worship. The question is discussed by Dr. Kennedy (in the
Century Bible on 1 Sam. xvii), and with his conclusions of the
 historicity of David's prowess we fully concur. Our text may
 perhaps be emended thus, 'Elhanan the son of Jair the Beth-
 lehemite slew (the brother of) Goliath the Gittite.'

The last of the Philistine giants fell at Gath by the hand of
 David's nephew.

(6) xxi—xxii. 1. *The Census and the Pestilence.*

The narrative of David's sin in taking the census is introduced
 by the chronicler because it leads up to the acquisition of the
 sacred site of the Temple. The material is derived from 2 Sam.
 xxiv; it has been re-edited throughout, and Kittel sees in it the
 work of an intermediate Levitic scribe or midrashist. The
 variations are mainly explicable by the altered view-point of the
 chronicler, and will be discussed in the notes. According to our
 narrative, Satan incited David to number the people, which he
 does in spite of Joab's remonstrance. Subsequently David
 realizes the sinfulness of the act, and, on his repentance, is asked
 to choose between three forms of punishment. He selects the
 pestilence. Thereupon the destroying angel ravages the country.
 Jerusalem, however, is spared, and David sacrifices upon the spot
 where the angel of destruction had appeared. This spot thus
 becomes the consecrated site of the Temple.

xxi. 1—7. *The Census.*

1. **Satan . . . moved David to number Israel:** cf. 2 Sam.
 xxiv. 1, 'The Lord . . . moved David against them.' The word
 'Satan' signifies 'an adversary'; but it is used here, without the
 article, as a proper name. It is the contention of Ewald that the

- 2 David to number Israel. And David said to Joab and to the princes of the people, Go, number Israel from Beer-sheba even to Dan ; and bring me word, that I may
 3 know the sum of them. And Joab said, The LORD make his people an hundred times so many more as they be : but, my lord the king, are they not all my lord's servants ? why doth my lord require this thing ? why will he be a
 4 cause of guilt unto Israel ? Nevertheless the king's word

word 'Satan' stood originally in ■ Samuel also ; but there are good grounds upon which the difference between the two narratives may be explained without such a supposition. The belief in a spirit who is the author of evil is implicit in the early religious ideas of the Hebrew people. It is quite probable that contact with Babylonia and Persia had much to do with the growth of such a belief ; but it seems to have developed along with the growing sense of the incongruity of tracing moral evil directly to God. The supposed antagonism between Samuel and Chronicles in this respect is rather apparent than real, and can be fully explained on the grounds of the advance in moral susceptibility made by Hebrew thinkers. In the interval between the composition of the two histories this advance was very marked. And the chronicler, with perhaps a finer sense of the holiness of Jehovah, here refuses to speak of Him as the author of evil. At the same time no dualism is involved in his indication of Satan as the author of the temptation in question. The chronicler simply ignores the problem of the origin of evil, and contents himself with a definite reference to the activities of an evil spirit in the temptation which assailed David.

The author of Samuel had left it doubtful at the outset of his narrative whether the proposition to take the census was morally wrong. The chronicler, by ascribing it to Satan, leaves no shadow of doubt concerning its sinfulness.

2. to Joab and to the princes of the people : as it was the compilation of ■ military register for the purpose of conscription that David had in view, he entrusted the task to his military chieftains.

from Beer-sheba even to Dan : the chronicler's reversal of the order of the towns constituting the limits of the land, as compared with the wording in 2 Samuel, is quite likely to be due to a sense of the superior importance of the southern kingdom.

3. a cause of guilt unto Israel : it is not stated wherein the sinfulness of the census lay. It was probably a wholly new

prevailed against Joab. Wherefore Joab departed, and went throughout all Israel, and came to Jerusalem. And ⁵ Joab gave up the sum of the numbering of the people unto David. And all they of Israel were a thousand thousand and an hundred thousand men that drew sword : and Judah was four hundred threescore and ten thousand men that drew sword. But Levi and Benjamin counted ⁶ he not among them : for the king's word was abominable to Joab. And God was displeased with this thing ; ⁷ therefore he smote Israel. And David said unto God, I ⁸ have sinned greatly, in that I have done this thing : but

departure prompted by pride of power—a kind of overgrown imperialism.

4. the king's word prevailed : as absolute monarch David overruled all objections, and Joab commenced the taking of the census.

came to Jerusalem : the chronicler has not merely represented the census as commencing at Beer-sheba, but he omits all details of its progress (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 5-8). The task of Joab is said to have occupied nine months and twenty days.

5. Here we have the common difficulty of numerical discrepancies in a marked form. The figures given in this verse differ from those of 2 Sam. xxiv. 9 and also from those of 1 Chron. xxvii. 1-5. Corruption of the text may be one cause of these discrepancies. It is difficult to explain the number of Israelite warriors as 1,100,000, while Samuel places the number at 800,000 ; but the reduction of the numbers for Judah from 500,000 to 470,000 may be explained by the fact that Levi and Benjamin are expressly omitted in the chronicler's estimate.

6. Levi and Benjamin counted he not : the verse is an addition of the chronicler. According to the Deuteronomic law, Levi was to be exempted from enumeration in the political census (cf. Num. i. 47-54) ; but we have no further grounds for crediting the statement concerning the omission of Benjamin.

7. God was displeased with this thing : these words are not found in the earlier history. The chronicler implies that David's repentance was awakened when he saw the Divine anger manifested in the pestilence, whereas the author of Samuel shows how David was troubled by a guilty conscience (verse 10). Evidently the conviction of sin was due both to subjective and to objective causes.

8. I have sinned : David frankly acknowledges his error.

now, put away, I beseech thee, the iniquity of thy servant ;
 9 for I have done very foolishly. And the LORD spake
 10 unto Gad, David's seer, saying, Go and speak unto David,
 saying, Thus saith the LORD, I offer thee three things ;
 11 choose thee one of them, that I may do it unto thee. So
 Gad came to David, and said unto him, Thus saith the
 12 LORD, Take which thou wilt ; either three years of famine ;
 or three months to be consumed before thy foes, while
 that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee ; or else
 three days the sword of the LORD, even pestilence in the
 land, and the angel of the LORD destroying throughout all
 the coasts of Israel. Now therefore consider what answer
 13 I shall return to him that sent me. And David said unto
 Gad, I am in a great strait : let me fall now into the hand
 of the LORD ; for very great are his mercies : and let me
 14 not fall into the hand of man. So the LORD sent a
 pestilence upon Israel : and there fell of Israel seventy
 15 thousand men. And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem
 to destroy it : and as he was about to destroy, the LORD
 beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the
 destroying angel, It is enough ; now stay thine hand.
 And the angel of the LORD stood by the threshing-floor
 16 of Ornan the Jebusite. And David lifted up his eyes,

9. Gad, David's seer : Gad had joined David during his outlaw life ; he appears in the varied rôles of councillor, musician, and historian (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 29 ; 2 Chron. xxix. 25).

12. the angel of the LORD : these words are an addition to the earlier narrative, and further indicate the increased belief in angelic ministrations.

13. very great are his mercies : David's choice of the punishment was determined by a sense of God's mercy.

15. an angel : probably the article has fallen out ; it is the destroying angel who is intended.

Ornan the Jebusite. In 2 Samuel we read 'Araunah' and

and saw the angel of the LORD stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders, clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces. And David said unto God, Is it not I that commanded the people to be num- 17
bered? even I it is that have sinned and done very wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O LORD my God, be against me, and against my father's house; but not against thy people, that they should be plagued. Then the angel of the LORD commanded Gad to say to David, that David should 18
go up, and rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And David went up at the saying of Gad, which he spake in the name of the LORD. 19
And Ornan turned back, and saw the angel; and his four sons that were with him hid themselves. Now Ornan 20
was threshing wheat. And as David came to Ornan, Ornan looked and saw David, and went out of the 21
threshing-floor, and bowed himself to David with his face to the ground. Then David said to Ornan, Give me the place of this threshing-floor, that I may build thereon an 22

in the LXX 'Ornah.' Ornan was one of the remaining Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem.

16. The chronicler has here expanded the simple statement of 2 Samuel that 'he saw the angel that smote the people.'

18. the angel of the LORD commanded Gad: still we note the prominence of the angel-ministry. The Divine command to build an altar on Ornan's threshing-floor involves the consecration of the spot where the angel had stood.

20. and saw the angel: it is quite possible that the text should read 'and saw the king,' as in the LXX. The error would easily arise, as the Hebrew words differ only by a single letter (מַלְאָךְ *mal'ak*, 'angel,' and מֶלֶךְ *melek*, 'king').

Ornan was threshing wheat: this addition of the chronicler's seems to be an echo of the LXX reading of 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 'when the days were the days of wheat harvest,' &c.

altar unto the LORD : for the full price shalt thou give it me : that the plague may be stayed from the people.

23 And Ornan said unto David, Take it to thee, and let my lord the king do that which is good in his eyes : lo, I give *thee* the oxen for burnt offerings, and the threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meal offering ; I give it all. And king David said to Ornan, Nay ; but I will verily buy it for the full price : for I will not take that which is thine for the LORD, nor offer a burnt offering without cost. So David gave to Ornan for the

24 place six hundred shekels of gold by weight. And David built there an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings, and called upon the LORD ; and he answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar

25 of burnt offering. And the LORD commanded the angel ; and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof.

22. for the full price : David's design is to purchase the site.

23. I give it all : the obscure words of 2 Samuel have been incorrectly interpreted as implying that Ornan was the dethroned king of Jebus. Ornan's free offer of the requisites for sacrifice was probably made in the true spirit of Oriental bargaining, and was never meant to be taken literally.

24. I will verily buy it : David recognizes the principle which is the spring of all genuine sacrifice. It is the voluntary and self-renouncing nature of the gift that alone makes sacrifice valid.

25. six hundred shekels of gold : a sum of about £1,200. In 2 Samuel it is given as fifty shekels of silver, i.e. £7.

26. David built there an altar : on the same spot subsequently stood the great altar of burnt offering of Solomon's Temple. To-day the spot is covered by the Kubbet-es-Şahra, or Dome of the Rock, one of the most famous Mohammedan mosques in the world.

he answered him from heaven by fire : this visible sign of God's acceptance was a further indication that the spot was to be sacred.

27—xxii. 1. These five verses form an appendix to the narrative of the consecration of Ornan's threshing-floor. They

At that time, when David saw that the LORD had answered him in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, then he sacrificed there. For the tabernacle of the LORD, which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of burnt offering, were at that time in the high place at Gibeon. But David could not go before it to inquire of God : for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the LORD. [Ch] Then David said, This is the house of the LORD God, and this is the altar of burnt offering for Israel.

And David commanded to gather together the strangers that were in the land of Israel ; and he set masons to hew wrought stones to build the house of God. And David prepared iron in abundance for the

point out the special circumstances of the case which made it permissible for David to sacrifice in a way contrary to the Deuteronomic regulations. These circumstances were the impossibility of his going to the Tabernacle in Gibeon, where the pestilence probably still raged. The proofs of God's mercy which were manifested at the time led David to sanctify the spot to be used henceforth for burnt offering. In indicating this spot as the site of the Temple, the chronicler was evidently following a reliable historical tradition. In the parenthetical statements of verses 28-30 we probably have the chronicler's original addition to the re-edited version of 2 Sam., which he used as his source.

(7) xxii. 2-19. *Preparation for the Temple.*

It is quite natural that the chronicler, whose main interest in earlier history concerns itself with the religious aspects of the national life, should immediately follow the narrative of the consecration of the Temple-site by an account of the king's provision for the establishment of the national sanctuary and its worship. Thus in ch. xxii he describes David's endeavours to order the religious institutions of his people. The entire narrative is the independent work of the chronicler, but is based upon some Levitic authorities.

xxii. 2-5. *Materials for the Temple-building.*

2. the strangers: i.e. the descendants of the Canaanites whom the Israelite conquerors had left in the land (cf. 2 Chron. viii. 7 ff.).

nails for the doors of the gates, and for the couplings ;
 4 and brass in abundance without weight ; and cedar trees
 without number : for the Zidonians and they of Tyre
 5 brought cedar trees in abundance to David. And David
 said, Solomon my son is young and tender, and the
 house that is to be builded for the LORD must be exceed-
 ing magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all
 countries : I will therefore make preparation for it. So
 David prepared abundantly before his death.

6 Then he called for Solomon his son, and charged him
 7 to build an house for the LORD, the God of Israel. And
 David said to Solomon his son, As for me, it was in my
 heart to build an house unto the name of the LORD my
 8 God. But the word of the LORD came to me, saying,
 Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great

4. they of Tyre brought cedar trees : a regular traffic was kept up between Israel and Phoenicia, and both David and Solomon subsequently made commercial treaties with Hiram, king of Tyre. In exchange for the Tyrian cedars Israel probably sent agricultural produce.

5. David prepared abundantly : these vast preparations for the Temple were in due proportion to David's ambitious architectural schemes ; and the whole was prompted by a burning zeal for the glory of Jehovah.

xxii. 6-16. *The Building of the Temple entrusted to Solomon.*

David calls Solomon to a formal audience ; he informs him of his early wish to build a Temple to Jehovah, and of God's refusal to permit him, as a man of bloodshed, to execute his schemes ; and he now solemnly entrusts the work to his son. Throughout the history the wars undertaken by David for the establishment of the kingdom are looked upon as the wars of Jehovah. No slur is cast upon David, therefore, when he is prohibited from building the Temple ; it is merely the seeming incongruity of bloodshed and temple-building that is emphasized ; and the two duties are entrusted to men whose circumstances fitted them for the divergent undertakings.

6. Solomon : the name (Heb. *Shelōmō*) means 'rich in peace' ; cf. verse 9. David had had little leisure, amid the anxiety of incessant campaigning, to execute the works of peace.

wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight: behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall 9 be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days: he shall build an house for my name; and he 10 shall be my son, and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever. Now, my son, the LORD be with thee; and prosper thou, 11 and build the house of the LORD thy God, as he hath spoken concerning thee. Only the LORD give thee 12 discretion and understanding, and give thee charge concerning Israel; that so thou mayest keep the law of the LORD thy God. Then shalt thou prosper, if thou 13 observe to do the statutes and the judgements which the LORD charged Moses with concerning Israel: be strong, and of good courage; fear not, neither be dismayed. Now, behold, in my affliction I have pre- 14 pared for the house of the LORD an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver;

12. the law of the LORD thy God: the word 'law' (Heb. *tôrâh*) means 'instruction' or 'teaching'; in the mind of the chronicler it would naturally stand for the Deuteronomic code of moral and religious instruction contained in the Hexateuch.

13. The promises and exhortations uttered by David betray a very close familiarity with 'the law of Moses.' It is an accepted belief of modern scholarship that the Mosaic legislation, as we possess its record to-day, had undergone very considerable development between the days of Moses and its final committal to writing; but this in no way conflicts with a belief in its Mosaic basis nor with its Divine sanction.

14. in my affliction: the words probably refer to the king's zealous labours for the future Temple during the unsettled years of his warlike reign. The LXX reads, 'in my poverty.'

an hundred thousand talents of gold. The talent (Heb. *kikkâr*) was an ingot or bar of metal; its value can only be

and of brass and iron without weight ; for it is in abundance : timber also and stone have I prepared ; and
 15 thou mayest add thereto. Moreover there are workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and workers of stone and timber, and all men that are cunning in any manner of
 16 work ; of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron, there is no number ; arise and be doing, and the LORD
 17 be with thee. David also commanded all the princes of
 18 Israel to help Solomon his son, *saying*, Is not the LORD your God with you ? and hath he not given you rest on every side ? for he hath delivered the inhabitants of the land into mine hand ; and the land is subdued before
 19 the LORD, and before his people. Now set your heart and your soul to seek after the LORD your God ; arise

approximately determined by the aid of Josephus and of ancient coins and weights. Both the Babylonian and the Phœnician systems of weights seem to have been in use in Palestine, the former system giving to the shekel and talent double the value given by the latter. Moreover, a double scale, heavy and light, seems to have been used in each system, one being twice the weight of the other. Probably the Phœnician system was in use in David's time. If this supposition be correct, we may value the shekel of gold at £2 1s. 6d., and the shekel of silver at 2s. 9d. (heavy scale). Then, reckoning the talent as 3,000 shekels, we find that David's provision amounted to the almost fabulous sum of £615,000,000 of gold and £412,500,000 of silver. If the lighter scale were employed, it would give £307,500,000 of gold and £206,250,000 of silver. Such sums seem incredibly large, and it is quite possible that textual errors have arisen or that some scale of reckoning was used of which we are ignorant. Still, vast treasures were not infrequently stored by Eastern monarchs and plundered by their conquerors, so that even the great sums named above are not wholly incredible.

17-19. *David's Charge to the Princes.* David reminds the princes of the fact that God had given him victory on all sides and had reduced the kingdom to perfect order. He, therefore, exhorts them to support Solomon in carrying out the plans he had formed for the religious life of the nation. The sanctuary is to be built and the sacred Ark safely housed for the honour of Jehovah.

therefore, and build ye the sanctuary of the LORD God, to bring the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and the holy vessels of God, into the house that is to be built to the name of the LORD.

Now David was old and full of days; and he made 23 Solomon his son king over Israel. And he gathered together all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the

(2) xxiii-xxvi. *Organization of the Levites.*

These four chapters deal with the leaders of the cultus of the Temple, the Levites, priests, musicians, guardians, and other officials. They are the independent work of the chronicler, save for a few possible later editorial additions. While they purport to represent the state of things extant at the close of David's reign one cannot lose sight of the fact that the chronicler wrote with the contemporary later organization of the Levites in his mind. That is to say, he practically presented what to him were the modern conditions of the Levitic service which had been moulded by David seven hundred years earlier. This will be apparent in our study of the text. But we may even go further and say that, if we are to credit the descriptions of such an historian as Josephus, then the chronicler describes a state of things which was ideal rather than real even in his own day. Our author first gives the numbers and divisions of the Levites (ch. xxiii); then he passes on to a catalogue of the Aaronic priests (ch. xxiv) and the orders of the Temple musicians (ch. xxv); and finally he gives a list of various minor officials of the Temple (ch. xxvi).

xxiii. *Levitical Organization.*

Undoubtedly the chronicler composed this chapter by the aid of documentary material. This material is of such a nature as to vindicate the description of the institutions referred to as Davidic; yet it bears every token of later Levitical writings and reflects the conditions extant in the fourth, rather than the eleventh, century B.C.

1. **he made Solomon . . . king**: this may be taken to mean that David designated Solomon as his successor. It was at this same time that David fully organized the administration of his kingdom and laid down his regulations for the ecclesiastical affairs of the land under his successors.

xxiii. 2-5. *Census and Division of the Levites.*

2. A matter of such national importance as that which David had in hand necessitated his convening the assembly of representatives of the tribes.

3 Levites. And the Levites were numbered from thirty
 years old and upward: and their number by their polls,
 4 man by man, was thirty and eight thousand. Of these,
 twenty and four thousand were to oversee the work of the
 house of the LORD; and six thousand were officers and
 5 judges: and four thousand were doorkeepers; and four
 thousand praised the LORD with the instruments which I
 6 made, *said David*, to praise therewith. And David
 divided them into courses according to the sons of Levi;
 7 Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Of the Gershonites;
 8 Ladan and Shimei. The sons of Ladan; Jehiel the
 9 chief, and Zetham, and Joel, three. The sons of Shimei;
 Shelomoth, and Haziël, and Haran, three. These were
 10 the heads of the fathers' *houses* of Ladan. And the sons
 of Shimei; Jahath, Zina, and Jeush, and Beriah. These
 11 four were the sons of Shimei. And Jahath was the chief,
 and Zizah the second: but Jeush and Beriah had not
 many sons; therefore they became a fathers' house in

3. from thirty years old: probably an error for 'twenty years old': cf. verses 24 and 27. In Num. iv. 3, 23, 35, and 47 we learn that the age at which Levitical service begun was generally thirty, although in Num. viii. 23 we find the age given as twenty. The age-limit seems to have been gradually extended, and, as only a few Levites returned from the Captivity (cf. Ezra ii. 40-42, &c.), the period of service was definitely fixed by Zerubbabel as commencing in the twentieth year (cf. Ezra iii. 8).

4, 5. Of the 38,000 Levites, 24,000 conducted the service of the Temple-cultus, 6,000 administered justice, 4,000 were guardians of the Temple-doors, and 4,000 were musicians.

xxiii. 6-23. *Levitic Households.*

6. The ancient threefold division of the tribe of Levi into Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites is taken as the basis of division for the Levitic service.

(a) **7-11. The Gershonites.** Two lines of descent from Gershon are given, but the exact relationship of the founders of these fathers' houses is not stated. There seems to be some confusion in the names (cf. Exod. vi. 17, &c.).

one reckoning. The sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, 12
 Hebron, and Uzziel, four. The sons of Amram; Aaron 13
 and Moses: and Aaron was separated, that he should
 sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons, for ever,
 to burn incense before the LORD, to minister unto him,
 and to bless in his name, for ever. But as for Moses the 14
 man of God, his sons were named among the tribe of
 Levi. The sons of Moses; Gershom and Eliezer. The 15, 16
 sons of Gershom; Shebuel the chief. And the sons of 17
 Eliezer were, Rehabiah the chief. And Eliezer had none
 other sons; but the sons of Rehabiah were very many.
 The sons of Izhar; Shelomith the chief. The sons of 18, 19
 Hebron; Jeriah the chief, Amariah the second, Jahaziel
 the third, and Jekameam the fourth. The sons of Uzziel; 20
 Micah the chief, and Isshiah the second. The sons of 21
 Merari Mahli and Mushi. The sons of Mahli; Eleazar
 and Kish. And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but 22
 daughters only: and their brethren the sons of Kish took
 them *to wife*. The sons of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and 23
 Jeremoth, three. [R] These were the sons of Levi after 24

(b) 12-20. *The Kohathites*. Among the four sons of Kohath special prominence is given to the office of Aaron and to the descendants of Moses.

13. *that he should sanctify the most holy things, he*: R.V. (marg.) reads 'to sanctify as most holy him,' and the clause should be interpreted as referring to Aaron himself, in that the deliberate setting apart of his life for God's service constituted a sanctifying of himself to be 'a most holy one.' In this consecrated life he burned incense, performed the priestly ministry, and pronounced the blessing upon the worshippers.

18. *Izhar* was a brother of Amram, as also was *Hebron* (verse 19). Thus we have nine houses descended from Kohath, in addition to the house of Aaron.

(c) 21-23. *The Merarites*. Only four houses are traced to Merari.

xxiii. 24-32. *Appendix*. Possibly these nine verses are a later

their fathers' houses, even the heads of the fathers' *houses* of those of them that were counted, in the number of names by their polls, who did the work for the service of the house of the LORD, from twenty years old and upward.

25 For David said, The LORD, the God of Israel, hath given rest unto his people; and he dwelleth in Jerusalem for

26 ever: and also the Levites shall no more have need to carry the tabernacle and all the vessels of it for the service

27 thereof. For by the last words of David the sons of Levi were numbered, from twenty years old and upward.

28 For their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the LORD, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things,

29 even the work of the service of the house of God; for the shewbread also, and for the fine flour for a meal offering, whether of unleavened wafers, or of that which is baked in the pan, or of that which is soaked, and for

30 all manner of measure and size; and to stand every morning to thank and praise the LORD, and likewise at

31 even; and to offer all burnt offerings unto the LORD, in the sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the set feasts, in number according to the ordinance concerning them,

editorial addition to the record of the Levitic houses, in that the age limit given in verses 24 and 27 conflicts with that given in verse 3.

25, 26. The new conditions of Levitic service in the settled kingdom are given as reasons for the extended service of the tribe.

27. by the last words of David: this cannot be rendered 'according to the later histories of David,' as some suggest: it must refer to the closing acts of his reign.

29. the shewbread: cf. Lev. xxiv. 8 ff.

all manner of measure and size: i. e. to superintend public weights and measures.

30. to thank and praise the LORD: this was the office of the musicians of the Temple, and it is more fully described in ch. xxv.

continually before the LORD: and that they should keep ³² the charge of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the holy place, and the charge of the sons of Aaron their brethren, for the service of the house of the LORD.

[Ch] And the courses of the sons of Aaron *were these*. ²⁴ The sons of Aaron; Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. But Nadab and Abihu died before their ² father, and had no children: therefore Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priest's office. And David with ³ Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, divided them according to their ordering in their service. And there were more chief men found of ⁴ the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar; and *thus* were they divided: of the sons of Eleazar there

32. The duties of the Levites are finally summarized as constituting a threefold charge—over the Tabernacle, over the Temple, and over the Aaronic priesthood.

xxiv. *The Aaronic Priests.*

Following upon the enumeration of the Levitical houses, which occupied ch. xxiii, we have here the divisions of the Aaronic priesthood. The Aaronites, descended from Eleazar and Ithamar, were divided into twenty-four classes, performing their duties in an order determined by lot. The duties of the Kohathites and Merarites are then stated in some detail. The Davidic origin of the twenty-four courses of the priests is repudiated by certain modern scholars (e. g. de Wette, Herzfeld, &c.), but it is testified to by Josephus; and their pre-exilic existence is borne out by Ezekiel (cf. viii. 16-18) and Nehemiah (cf. xii. 1-7, 12-21).

xxiv. 1-19. *The Twenty-four Courses of the Priests.*

1. The chronicler here takes up anew the subject of the Aaronic priesthood, which he had touched upon in xxiii. 13.

2. Nadab and Abihu: they had perished for their sin of offering 'strange fire.' Cf. Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 61.

3. The ordering of the priestly courses is represented as the joint work of the king and the priestly heads of the two lines of Eleazar and Ithamar, Zadok and Abiathar.

4. The descendants of Eleazar constituted sixteen priestly households or clans; those of Ithamar composed only eight.

were sixteen, heads of fathers' houses ; and of the sons of
 5 Ithamar, according to their fathers' houses, eight. Thus
 were they divided by lot, one sort with another ; for there
 were princes of the sanctuary, and princes of God, both
 6 of the sons of Eleazar, and of the sons of Ithamar. And
 Shemaiah the son of Nethanel the scribe, who was of the
 Levites, wrote them in the presence of the king, and the
 princes, and Zadok the priest, and Ahimelech the son of
 Abiathar, and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the
 priests and of the Levites : one fathers' house being
 7 taken for Eleazar, and one taken for Ithamar. Now the
 first lot came forth to Jehoiarib, the second to Jedaiah ;
 8, 9 the third to Harim, the fourth to Seorim ; the fifth to
 10 Malchijah, the sixth to Mijamin ; the seventh to Hakkoz,

5. by lot: the use of the lot was always recognized in the Jewish religious community as a divinely-appointed method of deciding upon doubtful alternatives. It was usually performed by means of coloured stones, one giving an affirmative and the other a negative response to the questioner. The Urim and Thummin were probably of the nature of such oracular stones. In the present case the names of the priestly households would probably be written upon parchment and drawn from the urn.

princes of the sanctuary: the chronicler is recording the historic fact that the honours of the priestly dignity had been enjoyed by descendants of both the sons of Aaron, and, the confusion having so long existed even as far as concerned the high-priesthood, David perpetuated the existing state of things in the case of the minor priestly offices. Eventually the high-priesthood was given over entirely to the house of Eleazar.

6. The verse is somewhat obscure, but the sense seems to be that Shemaiah-ben-Nethanel, a Levitic scribe, recorded the results of the lottery, as a representative was selected alternately from the house of Eleazar and of Ithamar. As the number of the former was double that of the latter we cannot determine in what way the discrepancy was rectified.

7-18. The twenty-four courses are here named according to the Davidic organization. Many of the names are entirely void of interest to us, but it is worth noting that Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, belonged to the eighth class (cf. Luke i. 5). Each course performed the duties of the office for a week in rotation.

the eighth to Abijah; the ninth to Jeshua, the tenth to 11
 Shecaniah; the eleventh to Eliashib, the twelfth to Jakim; 12
 the thirteenth to Huppah, the fourteenth to Jeshebeab; 13
 the fifteenth to Bilgah, the sixteenth to Immer; the 14, 15
 seventeenth to Hezir, the eighteenth to Happizzez; the 16
 nineteenth to Pethahiah, the twentieth to Jehezkel; the 17
 one and twentieth to Jachin, the two and twentieth to
 Gamul; the three and twentieth to Delaiah, the four and 18
 twentieth to Maaziah. This was the ordering of them in 19
 their service, to come into the house of the LORD accord-
 ing to the ordinance *given* unto them by the hand of
 Aaron their father, as the LORD, the God of Israel, had
 commanded him.

[R²] And of the rest of the sons of Levi: of the sons 20
 of Amram, Shubael; of the sons of Shubael, Jehdeiah.
 Of Rehabiah: of the sons of Rehabiah, Isshiah the chief. 21
 Of the Izharites, Shelomoth; of the sons of Shelomoth, 22
 Jahath. And the sons of *Hebron*; Jeriah *the chief*, 23
 Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, Jekameam the
 fourth. The sons of Uzziel, Micah; of the sons of 24
 Micah, Shamir. The brother of Micah, Isshiah: of the 25
 sons of Isshiah, Zechariah. The sons of Merari; Mahli 26
 and Mushi: the sons of Jaaziah; Beno. The sons of 27
 Merari; of Jaaziah, Beno, and Shoham, and Zaccur, and

20-31. Organization of other Levites. The section clearly refers only to the Levites who were occupied with the public worship of the Sanctuary, for the singers and other officials are enumerated in ch. xxvi. The catalogue is limited to the families of the lines of Kohath and Merari. The chronicler first names three of the Kohathite chiefs, Jehdeiah, Isshiah, and Jahath, representing the houses of Amram, Rehabiah, and Izhar; and then follow four Kohathite chiefs descended from Hebron (verse 23), although the name Hebron is omitted both in the Hebrew and in the LXX (but cf. xxiii. 19). The Merarite chiefs are then named. And the statement is added that these Levites were organized into classes

- 28, 29 Ibri. Of Mahli; Eleazar, who had no sons. Of Kish;
 30 the sons of Kish, Jerahmeel. And the sons of Mushi;
 Mahli, and Eder, and Jerimoth. These were the sons
 31 of the Levites after their fathers' houses. These likewise
 cast lots even as their brethren the sons of Aaron in the
 presence of David the king, and Zadok, and Ahimelech,
 and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the priests and
 of the Levites; the fathers' *houses* of the chief even as
 those of his younger brother.
- 25 [Ch] Moreover David and the captains of the host
 separated for the service certain of the sons of Asaph,
 and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy
 with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals: and the

for service in the same way as were the priests. Hence, although only fifteen classes are actually named, it is highly probable that they originally fell into twenty-four courses, the additional nine houses being found among the uncatalogued descendants of the Hebronites and the Mushites. In all probability a later scribe has added the entire section.

xxv. *The Temple Musicians.*

As with the leading priests and with their assistants of ch. xxiv, so the musicians of the Temple were divided into twenty-four courses. The organization of the service of praise in the second Temple was most elaborate and must have been of special interest to the chronicler. But the question again presents itself as to whether he is actually recording the facts of the Davidic organization in the present chapter or whether he describes the later developed organization which sprung from David's early attempt to order the music of the Sanctuary. In the issue it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the chronicler is seeking to read backward from his own day to that of David, instead of placing himself in the genuine historic attitude of reading forward from David's day to his own.

1. The musical guilds contained representatives of each of the great Levitical houses, Asaph being a Gershonite, Heman a Kohathite, and Jeduthun a Merarite.

prophesy with harps: the word is used in its wider sense of voicing inspired thought to the accompaniment of music. Speak-

number of them that did the work according to their service was: of the sons of Asaph; Zaccur, and Joseph, ² and Nethaniah, and Asharelah, the sons of Asaph; under the hand of Asaph, who prophesied after the order of the king. Of Jeduthun: the sons of Jeduthun; Gedaliah, ³ and Zeri, and Jeshaiiah, Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, six; under the hands of their father Jeduthun with the harp, who prophesied in giving thanks and praising the LORD. Of Heman: the sons of Heman; Bukkiah, Mattaniah, ⁴ Uzziel, Shebuel, and Jerimoth, [R²] Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth: all these were the sons of ⁵

ing under the influence of inspiration seemed closely associated with music in early days, as we see from the case of Elisha, &c.

2. the sons of Asaph: as each class is said to consist of twelve men (cf. verse 9 n.), who are called 'sons' of the leader, it is clear that family relationship is not indicated, but merely membership of the guild in question. Also a comparison of verses 2-5 with verses 9-31 shows that these 'sons' of Asaph, Jeduthun and Heman, mentioned in the earlier verses, were really the leaders of the musical courses and that the later verses give the details of the subdivisions of the guilds.

3. The name of Shimei has fallen out; cf. verse 17.

4. Suspicions regarding the genuineness of this list of the names of the fourteen 'sons' (i. e. guilds) of Heman are aroused by the fact that six of the names, read consecutively as they stand, form a complete Hebrew sentence. These names are 'Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth,' which literally means:—

'I have magnified and I have exalted help;

Sitting in trouble I have spoken oracles in abundance.'

Now this sentence is either an obscure and ancient prayer which has been mistaken for a list of names by the compiler. (the mistake being shared by the LXX and the Syriac translators), or else the compiler has purposely strung together these significant names in such an order as to form a sentence. That the latter case is what has actually occurred is far more probable than that an obscure sentence should have been inserted in a list of names.

5. This verse again is obscure. Not improbably it is a late insertion, added along with verse 4 by a redactor. As it stands it

Heman the king's seer in the words of God, to lift up the horn. And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters. [Ch] All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the LORD, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God; Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman being under the order of the king. And the number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in singing unto the LORD, even all that were skilful, was two hundred fourscore and eight. And they cast lots for their charges, all alike, as well the small as the great, the teacher as the scholar. Now the first lot came forth for Asaph to Joseph: the second to Gedaliah; he and his brethren and sons were twelve: the third to Zaccur, his sons and his brethren, twelve: the fourth to Izri, his sons and his brethren, twelve: the fifth to Nethaniah, his sons and his brethren, twelve: the sixth to Bukkiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve: the seventh to Jesharelah, his sons and his brethren,

implies that Heman was both musician and seer and that God had honoured him (lifted up his horn) in his gifts and in his sons.

6. This verse stands as an introduction to the detailed enumeration which follows. Under the king there came the three chief musicians, and under them were the guilds.

7. the number of them . . . was two hundred fourscore and eight: comparing this statement with xxiii. 5 we gather that of the 4,000 Levites appointed by David as musicians only 288 skilled men were selected to form the twenty-four choirs. The others would be learners. But as all cast lots for their order in the courses (cf. verse 8), it appears that the remainder of the 4,000 were under the charge of the 288, by whom they were probably trained and whom they would assist when duly qualified.

9-31. As a result of the casting of the lots, the first, third, fifth, and seventh places fell to Asaphites; the second, fourth, eighth, twelfth, and fourteenth fell to Jeduthunites; and the sixth, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, and the last ten places fell to Hemanites.

9. On the analogy of the following verses we should certainly restore the words 'he and his sons and their brethren, twelve' at the close of the verse. At the same time we must read in the first

twelve : the eighth to Jeshaiah, his sons and his brethren, 15
 twelve : the ninth to Mattaniah, his sons and his brethren, 16
 twelve : the tenth to Shimei, his sons and his brethren, 17
 twelve : the eleventh to Azarel, his sons and his brethren, 18
 twelve : the twelfth to Hashabiah, his sons and his 19
 brethren, twelve : for the thirteenth, Shubael, his sons 20
 and his brethren, twelve : for the fourteenth, Mattithiah, 21
 his sons and his brethren, twelve : for the fifteenth to 22
 Jeremoth, his sons and his brethren, twelve : for the six- 23
 teenth to Hananiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve :
 for the seventeenth to Joshbekashah, his sons and his 24
 brethren, twelve : for the eighteenth to Hanani, his sons 25
 and his brethren, twelve : for the nineteenth to Mallothi, 26
 his sons and his brethren, twelve : for the twentieth to 27
 Eliathah, his sons and his brethren, twelve : for the one 28
 and twentieth to Hothir, his sons and his brethren,
 twelve : for the two and twentieth to Giddalti, his sons 29
 and his brethren, twelve : for the three and twentieth to 30
 Mahazioth, his sons and his brethren, twelve : for the 31
 four and twentieth to Romanti-ezer, his sons and his
 brethren, twelve.

For the courses of the doorkeepers : of the Korahites ; 26

clause of the verse, 'to Asaph and to Joseph,' which is required
 both for the sake of symmetry and also to make up the correct num-
 ber of 288.

xxvi. *Various Temple Officers.*

The catalogues of Levitic officers are brought to a close with lists of the door-keepers, treasury officials, and minor officers.

xxvi. 1-19. *The Door-keepers.* There is difficulty in determining
 the number of the Temple door-keepers. In this passage 93 are
 enumerated, of the descendants of Korah and Merari. In xxiii. 5
 it is stated that David appointed 4,000 door-keepers ; whence it
 seems that they were under the charge of the 93 here named.
 But in ix. 22 it is stated that David appointed 212 door-keepers,
 and one only reaches an explanation of such a discrepancy by refer-
 ring the appointments to different periods.

Meshelemiah the son of Kore, of the sons of Asaph.
 2 And Meshelemiah had sons; Zechariah the firstborn,
 3 Jediael the second, Zebadiah the third, Jathniel the
 4 fourth; Elam the fifth, Jehohanan the sixth, Eliehoenai
 5 the seventh. And Obed-edom had sons; Shemaiah the
 6 firstborn, Jehozabad the second, Joah the third, and
 7 Sacar the fourth, and Nethanel the fifth; Ammiel the
 8 sixth, Issachar the seventh, Peullethai the eighth: for
 9 God blessed him. Also unto Shemaiah his son were
 10 sons born, that ruled over the house of their father: for
 11 they were mighty men of valour. The sons of Shemaiah;
 12 Othni, and Rephael, and Obed, Elzabad, whose brethren
 13 were valiant men, Elihu, and Semachiah. All these were
 14 of the sons of Obed-edom: they and their sons and their
 brethren, able men in strength for the service; threescore
 and two of Obed-edom. And Meshelemiah had sons
 and brethren, valiant men, eighteen. Also Hoşah, of
 the children of Merari, had sons; Shimri the chief, (for
 though he was not the firstborn, yet his father made him
 chief;) Hilkiyah the second, Tebaliah the third, Zechariah
 the fourth: all the sons and brethren of Hosah were
 thirteen. Of these were the courses of the doorkeepers,
 even of the chief men, having charges like as their brethren,
 to minister in the house of the LORD. And they
 cast lots, as well the small as the great, according to their
 fathers' houses, for every gate. And the lot eastward fell

1. of the sons of Asaph: we must read Ebiasaph, as in ix. 19 (cf. LXX (B), which reads Abia Saphar). Asaph was a Gershonite.

4. Obed-edom (cf. note in xiii. 13 and xvi. 38): he is here reckoned as a member of the Korahites. His eight sons and six grandsons are specially mentioned as men of strength and honour.

12. the courses of the doorkeepers: the charge of the Temple gates, which faced the points of the compass, was assigned by lot to their guardians; twenty-four posts had to be provided for (verse 13).

to Shelemiah. Then for Zechariah his son, a discreet counsellor, they cast lots; and his lot came out northward. To Obed-edom southward; and to his sons the store-house. To Shuppim and Hosah westward, by the gate of Shallecheth, at the causeway that goeth up, ward against ward. Eastward were six Levites, northward four a day, southward four a day, and for the storehouse two and two. For Parbar westward, four at the causeway, 18 and two at Parbar. These were the courses of the 19 doorkeepers; of the sons of the Korahites, and of the sons of Merari.

And of the Levites, Ahijah was over the treasures 20

15. the storehouse seems to have stood in the outer court of the Temple near the southern entrance and to have been used for the storage of the Temple goods.

16. To Shuppim: the word is not a proper name, but an unintelligible intrusion which must be deleted. It probably arose by the repetition of the last word of the preceding verse (Heb. *ʿAsuppim*).

the gate of Shallecheth: nothing is known of this gate, which is here said to have been situated to the west of the Temple. It is not unlikely that the word is a scribal error for 'the chambers' (Heb. *Shākoth*).

at the causeway: this was evidently the path leading from the lower city to the hill on which the Temple stood.

18. Parbar: the word is a crux of criticism. Its repetition in this one verse is unaccountable. The versions give us little help. The LXX presents a simpler text and evidently did not know the word. The Syriac transliterates. The later Latin Vulgate makes a guess and writes 'in the cells of the janitors.' Some see in the word a connexion with the Persian word 'parwar,' which means 'a balcony,' or 'an open gallery.' Probably it indicates some outbuilding to the west of the Temple.

xxvi. 20-28. *Treasury Officials.*

20. of the Levites, Ahijah: the abruptness of this opening clause, coming as it does after several chapters upon Levitical organization, and introducing Ahijah without mention of his family connexion, is suspicious. We prefer the reading of the LXX: 'And the Levites, their brethren, over the treasures,' &c., as a more suitable superscription; and the error is readily

of the house of God, and over the treasures of the
 21 dedicated things. The sons of Ladan; the sons of
 the Gershonites belonging to Ladan, the heads of the
 fathers' *houses* belonging to Ladan the Gershonite;
 22 Jehieli. The sons of Jehieli; Zetham, and Joel his
 brother, over the treasures of the house of the LORD.
 23 Of the Amramites, of the Izharites, of the Hebronites,
 24 of the Uzzielites; and Shebuel the son of Gershom, the
 25 son of Moses, was ruler over the treasures. And his
 brethren; of Eliezer *came* Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiiah
 his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelo-
 26 moth his son. This Shelomoth and his brethren were
 over all the treasures of the dedicated things, which
 David the king, and the heads of the fathers' *houses*, the
 captains over thousands and hundreds, and the captains
 27 of the host, had dedicated. Out of the spoil won in
 battles did they dedicate to repair the house of the LORD.
 28 And all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish,
 and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruah,
 had dedicated; whosoever had dedicated any thing,
 it was under the hand of Shelomoth, and of his brethren.

accounted for by the resemblance between 'Ahijah' and 'their brethren' (Heb. *ahēhem*).

21, 22. The verses are obscure, but the sense is clearly that the treasures of Jehovah's house were entrusted to Zetham and Joel, chiefs of the house of Jehieli, which traced its descent from Gershom through Ladan.

23, 24. The meaning is that from among the four branches of the family of Kohath, Shebuel was selected for the charge of the other treasures. **Shebuel** is styled 'ruler over the treasures,' and the word employed (Heb. *nāgīa*) implies that he held the place of chief treasury-official, superintending the Levites who had charge of the two treasures. This fact has often been overlooked because Shebuel's office is described between those of the under-treasurers instead of at the outset.

25-28. Shelomoth and his brethren: they were related to Shebuel and had the charge of all consecrated offerings, and also

Of the Izharites, Chenaniah and his sons were for the ²⁹ outward business over Israel, for officers and judges. Of ³⁰ the Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, men of valour, a thousand and seven hundred, had the oversight of Israel beyond Jordan westward; for all the business of the LORD, and for the service of the king. Of the ³¹ Hebronites was Jerijah the chief, even of the Hebronites, according to their generations by fathers' houses. In the fortieth year of the reign of David they were sought for, and there were found among them mighty men of valour at Jazer of Gilead. And his brethren, men of valour, ³² were two thousand and seven hundred, heads of fathers' houses, whom king David made overseers over the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of the Manassites, for every matter pertaining to God, and for the affairs of the king.

Now the children of Israel after their number, *to wit*, **27**

of the spoils of war accumulated by David, Saul, and the military chieftains, for Temple use.

xxvi. 29-32. *External Officials.* In the enumeration of these officials, who performed the duties of scribes and judges throughout the country, it is noticeable that they represent the houses of the Kohathites instead of being drawn from all the families of Levi, and that their number only amounts to 4,400 instead of the 6,000 mentioned in xxiii. 4. It is, therefore, evident that we have here an imperfect list. It is also somewhat curious that 2,700 should be assigned to the districts east of Jordan, and only 1,700 to the western districts.

29. Chenaniah: cf. note on xv. 22.

31. This verse is of the nature of a parenthesis, having reference to the Levites mentioned in verse 32.

32. heads of fathers' houses: the words must be understood of individuals, not of clans, for a single branch of the family of Hebron could not possibly contain 2,700 families, nor could so many families be required for the two and a half tribes, while only 1,700 individuals were required for the ten and a half tribes.

(3) xxvii. *David's Army and Administration.*

The chapter falls into four divisions, and describes the organiza-

the heads of fathers' *houses* and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and their officers that served the king, in any matter of the courses which came in and went out month by month throughout all the months of the year, of every course were twenty and four thousand.

2 [Ch²] Over the first course for the first month was Jashobeam the son of Zabdiel: and in his course were

3 twenty and four thousand. *He was* of the children of Perez, the chief of all the captains of the host for the first

4 month. And over the course of the second month was Dodai the Ahohite, and his course; and Mikloth the ruler: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.

5 The third captain of the host for the third month was Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada the priest, chief: and in his

6 course were twenty and four thousand. This is that Benaiah, who was the mighty man of the thirty, and over the thirty: and *of* his course was Ammizabad his son.

7 The fourth *captain* for the fourth month was Asahel

tion completed by David to render his kingdom secure and stable. The first section (verses 1-15) refers to the army and is indebted to 2 Sam. xxiv. 8 ff. The three following sections treat of the civil administration.

xxvii. 1-15. *Military Organization.* David organized his army on the basis of successive periods of service. The twelve army corps performed military service for a month in rotation. We may probably refer the scheme to the period of the unfortunate census.

1. The verse forms a somewhat weighty introduction, but its aim is to indicate that the organization was effected with reference to the number of men capable of bearing arms throughout the country.

2, 3. **Jashobeam:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 11; he commanded the first army corps of 24,000.

5-15. **Benaiah:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 22. **Asahel:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 26; he was slain some years before the organization of the army here narrated, which fact accounts for the reference to Zebadiah; but his name continued to be used in the army either

the brother of Joab, and Zebadiah his son after him : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The 8 fifth captain for the fifth month was Shamhuth the Izrahite : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The sixth *captain* for the sixth month was Ira the son of 9 Ikkesh the Tekoite : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The seventh *captain* for the seventh 10 month was Helez the Pelonite, of the children of Ephraim : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The eighth *captain* for the eighth month was 11 Sibbecai the Hushathite, of the Zerahites : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The ninth 12 *captain* for the ninth month was Abiezer the Anathothite, of the Benjamites : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The tenth *captain* for the tenth month 13 was Maharai the Netophathite, of the Zerahites : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The eleventh 14 *captain* for the eleventh month was Benaiah the Pirathonite, of the children of Ephraim : and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The twelfth *captain* for 15 the twelfth month was Heldai the Netophathite, of Othniel : and in his course were twenty and four thousand.

[Ch] Furthermore over the tribes of Israel : of the 16 Reubenites was Eliezer the son of Zichri the ruler : of the Simeonites, Shephatiah the son of Maacah : of Levi, 17 Hashabiah the son of Kemuel : of Aaron, Zadok : of 18

honoris causa, or because a successor assumed it. **Shamhuth** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 27. **Ira** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 28. **Helez** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 27. **Sibbecai** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 29. **Abiezer** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 28. **Maharai** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 30. **Benaiah** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 31. **Heldai** : cf. 1 Chron. xi. 30.

xxvii. 16-24. *Tribal Governors*. David appointed rulers over all the tribes except Gad and Asher, for the omission of which we are unable to account.

Judah, Elihu, one of the brethren of David : of Issachar,
 19 Omri the son of Michael : of Zebulun, Ishmaiah the son
 20 of Obadiah : of Naphtali, Jeremoth the son of Azriel : of
 the children of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Azaziah :
 of the half tribe of Manasseh, Joel the son of Pedaiah :
 21 of the half *tribe* of Manasseh in Gilead, Iddo the son of
 22 Zechariah : of Benjamin, Jaasiel the son of Abner : of
 Dan, Azarel the son of Jeroham. These were the
 23 captains of the tribes of Israel. But David took not the
 number of them from twenty years old and under :
 because the LORD had said he would increase Israel like
 24 to the stars of heaven. Joab the son of Zeruiah began to
 number, but finished not ; and there came wrath for this
 upon Israel ; neither was the number put into the
 account in the chronicles of king David.

25 And over the king's treasures was Azmaveth the son

17. Zadok : the high-priest of Eleazar's line had command of the entire priesthood.

20, 21. Manasseh : as the tribe was divided territorially it received two governors.

23, 24. The verses refer back to the military organization of verses 1-15. They imply that the object of David's census had been merely to ascertain the number of males above twenty years of age capable of bearing arms. The tragic close of the census is mentioned as the reason why no numerical details can be given by the chronicler.

xxvii. 25-31. *The Royal Domains.* The royal domains and treasures seem to have been very considerable. The treasures, under the care of Azmaveth and Jonathan, were stored in the capital and at various places in the provinces. The numerous flocks and herds, and the considerable extent of cultivated land, were put into the hands of ten skilled agriculturists and herdsmen who were of both Hebrew and alien extraction.

25. Azmaveth : the name should probably be read with different vowels as Azmôth. He was entrusted with the private possessions of the king which were in the royal palace. This is evident from the fact that all the other possessions are definitely located beyond the capital.

of Adiel: and over the treasures in the fields, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the castles, was Jonathan the son of Uzziah: and over them that did the work of 26 the field for tillage of the ground was Ezri the son of Chelub: and over the vineyards was Shimei the 27 Ramathite: and over the increase of the vineyards for the wine cellars was Zabdi the Shiphmite: and over the 28 olive trees and the sycomore trees that were in the lowland was Baal-hanan the Gederite: and over the cellars of oil was Joash: and over the herds that fed 29 in Sharon was Shitrai the Sharonite: and over the herds that were in the valleys was Shaphat the son of Adlai: and over the camels was Obil the Ishmaelite: and over 30 the asses was Jehdeiah the Meronothite: and over the 31 flocks was Jaziz the Hagrite. All these were the rulers of the substance which was king David's.

Also Jonathan David's uncle was a counsellor, a man 32 of understanding, and a scribe: and Jehiel the son of Hachmoni was with the king's sons: and Ahithophel was 33

28. in the lowland: literally 'in the Shephēlah,' i. e. in the low, undulating hill-country of Judah bordering on the maritime plain.

29. in Sharon: i. e. the fertile and luxuriant plain bordering the Mediterranean between Mount Carmel and the Philistine lowlands.

xxvii. 32-34. *David's Privy Council.* King David was surrounded by a number of trusted councillors, most of whom have already been named among his heroes.

32. Jonathan: this may have been David's nephew (cf. 1 Chron. xx. 7), as the word translated 'uncle' (Heb. *dōd*) is used very loosely to signify a near relative.

Jehiel was in charge of the young princes of the royal household.

33. Ahithophel: the councillor who subsequently deserted David during Absalom's rebellion and then took his own life; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 31, xvi. 23-xvii. 23.

- the king's counsellor: and Hushai the Archite was the
 34 king's friend: and after Ahithophel was Jehoiada the son
 of Benaiah, and Abiathar: and the captain of the king's
 host was Joab.
- 28 And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the
 princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies
 that served the king by course, and the captains of thou-
 sands, and the captains of hundreds, and the rulers over
 all the substance and possessions of the king and of his
 sons, with the officers, and the mighty men, even all the

Hushai: the councillor who remained loyal to the king and frustrated the advice of Ahithophel; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16, xvii.

34. after Ahithophel: probably the word means 'as his successor.'

Jehoiada: son of the hero Benaiah, and evidently named after his grandfather; cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 17.

Abiathar: presumably the high-priest; cf. 1 Chron. xv. 11.

(4) xxviii-xxix. *David's last Acts and Death.*

The chronicler here takes up the threads of the narrative which have been dropped since ch. xxii. The long reign of David is crowned by a fitting close. It had been his lot, under a constant sense of his dependence upon Jehovah, to establish his kingdom politically, materially, and ecclesiastically. As the end approached he determined to make all arrangements for the succession. Summoning the officials and the national representatives to Jerusalem, he solemnly designated Solomon as his successor. After exhorting his son in words of genuine piety, he entrusted to him the plans for the Temple he was to build. In conclusion he bequeathed all his personal treasure to the fulfilment of the dream of his latter days—the erection of the Temple. In response to the king's appeal, the princes of the people add their offerings to those of the king. Prayer is then offered by the aged monarch, numerous sacrifices are offered to Jehovah, and Solomon is again anointed as the king-elect.

xxviii. 1-10. *David publicly settles the Succession.*

1. The assembly convened by David was thoroughly representative and included many of the officials named in the preceding chapters.

officers: i. e. the court chamberlains.

mighty men of valour, unto Jerusalem. Then David the ² king stood up upon his feet, and said, Hear me, my brethren, and my people : as for me, it was in mine heart to build an house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and for the footstool of our God ; and I had made ready for the building. But God said unto me, ³ Thou shalt not build an house for my name, because thou art a man of war, and hast shed blood. Howbeit the ⁴ LORD, the God of Israel, chose me out of all the house of my father to be king over Israel for ever : for he hath chosen Judah to be prince ; and in the house of Judah, the house of my father ; and among the sons of my father he took pleasure in me to make me king over all Israel : and of all my sons, (for the LORD hath given me many ⁵ sons,) he hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the LORD over Israel. And he ⁶ said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and my courts : for I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father. And I will establish his kingdom ⁷ for ever, if he be constant to do my commandments and

2. David . . . stood up : probably he had hitherto sat or reclined owing to the weakness due to his advanced years. The speech here given recapitulates what we already know. It is pregnant with deep religious feeling.

the ark of the covenant of the LORD : this is the full designation of the later Deuteronomists.

the footstool of our God : i. e. the lid or covering of the Ark upon which were enthroned the cherubim.

4, 5. David recognizes an unmistakable choice of God, firstly in his own selection to the throne as a representative of Judah, and secondly in the appointment of Solomon to be his successor. The theocratic character of the monarchy is clearly stated in the phrase with which David describes it—'the throne of the kingdom of the Lord.'

6, 7. The divine promise and the condition of obedience upon which it depended are recorded in xvii. 11 and xxii. 10, as well as in 1 Kings iii. 14, ix. 4.

8 judgements, as at this day. Now therefore, in the sight of all Israel, the congregation of the LORD, and in the audience of our God, observe and seek out all the commandments of the LORD your God : that ye may possess this good land, and leave it for an inheritance to your
 9 children after you for ever. And thou, Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind : for the LORD searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts : if thou seek him, he will be found of thee ; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for
 10 ever. Take heed now ; for the LORD hath chosen thee to build an house for the sanctuary : be strong, and do it.
 11 Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch *of the temple*, and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper rooms thereof, and of the inner chambers thereof, and of the place of
 12 the mercy-seat : and the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, for the courts of the house of the LORD, and for all

7. as at this day : i. e. according to the religious knowledge and practice then prevalent.

8. in the audience of our God : David appeals to God as witnessing the ceremony in progress before the assembled representatives of Israel.

9. David forcibly reminds Solomon of the omniscience of Jehovah and of the fact that the divine promises and blessings are invariably conditioned by obedience.

10. be strong, and do it : the charge to Solomon closes with words of cheer and exhortation.

xxviii. 11-19. *The Temple Plans.* David had already matured the plans for the Temple, both as regards its architecture and its furniture. These he now solemnly delivers to Solomon.

12. by the spirit : i. e. by the Spirit of God. Skill in handicraft was considered to be the gift of God ; cf. Exod. xxxv. 31 ; and, similarly, the wisdom which enabled David to draw up the plans for the Temple is recognized as the outcome of the guidance of God.

the chambers round about, for the treasuries of the house of God, and for the treasuries of the dedicated things : also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for ¹³ all the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the LORD : of ¹⁴ gold by weight for the *vessels of gold*, for all vessels of every kind of service ; *of silver* for all the vessels of silver by weight, for all vessels of every kind of service : by ¹⁵ weight also for the candlesticks of gold, and for the lamps thereof, of gold, by weight for every candlestick and for the lamps thereof : and for the candlesticks of silver, *silver* by weight for *every* candlestick and for the lamps thereof, according to the use of every candlestick : and the gold ¹⁶ by weight for the tables of shewbread, for every table ; and silver for the tables of silver : and the fleshhooks, ¹⁷ and the basons, and the cups, of pure gold : and for the golden bowls by weight for every bowl ; and for the silver bowls by weight for every bowl : and for the altar of ¹⁸ incense refined gold by weight : and gold for the pattern of the chariot, *even* the cherubim, that spread out *their wings*, and covered the ark of the covenant of the LORD. All this, *said David*, have I been made to understand in ¹⁹ writing from the hand of the LORD, even all the works of

13. for the courses of the priests and the Levites: due provision was made within the precincts of the Temple enclosure, i. e. rooms were provided for their lodging and their official duties.

18. the chariot, even the cherubim: the two words are in apposition in that the cherubim were not placed beneath the chariot as were the wheels in Ezekiel's theophany, but constituted the chariot where God's glory appeared. The word 'cherub' is of disputed etymology, but it denotes a winged figure of human shape and of the higher order of angels.

19. The narrative is again in the first person and the speaker is evidently David. The king declares that the plans were not of

20 this pattern. And David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it : fear not, nor be dismayed : for the LORD God, even my God, is with thee ; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until all the work for the service of the house of the LORD be finished.

21 And, behold, there are the courses of the priests and the Levites, for all the service of the house of God : and there shall be with thee in all manner of work every willing man that hath skill, for any manner of service : also the captains and all the people will be wholly at thy commandment.

29 And David the king said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, is yet young and tender, and the work is great : for the palace
2 is not for man, but for the LORD God. Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God the gold for the *things of* gold, and the silver for the *things of* silver, and the brass for the *things of* brass, the iron for the *things of* iron, and wood for the *things of*

his own invention, but had been produced through the influence of Jehovah upon him.

20, 21. David concludes his charge to Solomon with words full of encouragement. He reminds him that the God whom he had found in his own personal experience (cf. 'even my God') to be all-sufficient was with him, and that he could count upon the willing co-operation of all classes of the Hebrew community.

xxix. 1-9. *Donations to the Temple Treasures.* David follows his exhortation to Solomon by addressing the assembled princes concerning his personal preparations and bounty towards the future Temple ; he exhorts them to freely consecrate their substance to the work, and his appeal is met by an immediate response.

1. the palace : Jehovah was recognized as the King of Israel in this magnificent housing of the Ark of the Covenant.

2. with all my might : David's preparations for the Temple were enthusiastic and ceaseless.

wood ; onyx stones, and *stones* to be set, stones for inlaid work, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance. Moreover also, 3 because I have set my affection to the house of my God, seeing that I have a treasure of mine own of gold and silver, I give it unto the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house ; even three 4 thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses withal : of gold for the *things of* gold, and of 5 silver for the *things of* silver, and for all manner of work *to be made* by the hands of artificers. Who then offereth willingly to consecrate himself this day unto the LORD ? Then the princes of the fathers' *houses*, and the princes of 6 the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers over the king's work, offered willingly ; and they gave for the service of the house of 7 God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand darics,

onyx stones : i. e. the green beryl, of the colour of leek.

marble stones : i. e. white marble.

3. David declares that he will contribute largely from his private treasures in addition to his official supply of material.

4. The royal donations were most lavish. The gold seems to have reached the almost fabulous value of £13,000,000, and the silver probably about £2,500,000. Such sums appear incredibly large, and should be read in the light of the chronicler's tendency to habitually exaggerate when giving numerical details.

5. **to consecrate himself :** lit. 'to fill his hand to-day to Jehovah.'

7. The offering of gold made by the princes and captains is reckoned at a sum which must have equalled twenty-two and a half millions sterling (in talents).

and ten thousand darics : the phrase may be a late insertion in the text from a marginal valuation of the contributions of gold, in which case they would prove that the lighter system of weights was employed ; or, on the other hand, they may refer to additional gifts in coin. But in any case the gifts could not have been actually made in darics, for the daric was a Persian coin, unknown in David's day, valued at £1 2s. 6d. The use of the word is

and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and of iron a hundred thousand talents.

8 And they with whom *precious* stones were found gave them to the treasure of the house of the LORD, under the

9 hand of Jehiel the Gershonite. Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with a perfect heart they offered willingly to the LORD: and David the

10 king also rejoiced with great joy. Wherefore David blessed the LORD before all the congregation: and David said, Blessed be thou, O LORD, the God of Israel our

11 father, for ever and ever. Thine, O LORD, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth *is thine*; thine is the kingdom, O LORD, and thou

12 art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou rulest over all; and in thine hand is power and might; and in thine hand it is to make

13 great, and to give strength unto all. Now therefore, our

14 God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of

15 thee, and of thine own have we given thee. For we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as all our fathers

usually regarded as one of the many proofs that the chronicler wrote after the Persian period.

8. Jehiel: cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 21 ff.

xxix. 10-19. *David's Thanksgiving.* David closes the representative assembly with a prayer which voices his thankfulness at the assured success of his plans for the national Temple. His joy is unbounded at the realization of the deepest desire of his heart, and the most spiritual of all his ambitions for his people.

10-12. The goodness and power of Jehovah are extolled by the aged king, who freely acknowledges Him as the King omnipotent.

13. we thank thee: the participle is used in the Hebrew as expressing the continuance of an enduring praise.

15. The verse is an echo of Psalms xxxix. 13 and xc. 9.

were : our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is no abiding. O LORD our God, all this store that we have 16 prepared to build thee an house for thine holy name cometh of thine hand, and is all thine own. I know also, 17 my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of mine heart I have willingly offered all these things : and now have I seen with joy thy people, which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. O LORD, the God of Abraham, of 18 Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their heart unto thee : and give unto Solomon 19 my son a perfect heart, to keep thy commandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all these things, and to build the palace, for the which I have made provision. And David said to all the congregation, Now bless the 20 LORD your God. And all the congregation blessed the LORD, the God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the LORD, and the king. And 21

16. God is recognized as the Giver of all, and David admits that he is but the steward of all his material possessions.

17. In the sight of God the king can testify to the single-heartedness of himself and his people in the offering of their substance for the glory of Jehovah.

18. prepare their heart unto thee : i. e. guide them ever into such an attitude towards Thyself.

xxix. 20-22. *The Public Ceremony.* At David's bidding the assembly engaged in the worship of God. On the following day a great religious festival is held. At its close the assembled princes anoint Solomon as king and reconsecrate Zadok as high-priest.

20. worshipped the LORD, and the king : the chronicler certainly does not imply that adoration was addressed to David. There was no trace of idolatry in the later Judaism which he everywhere reflects. Deep homage was paid to the aged king, but it was as far removed as possible from the adoration rendered to the Roman emperors of a later period.

- they sacrificed sacrifices unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings unto the LORD, on the morrow after that day, even a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices
 22 in abundance for all Israel ; and did eat and drink before the LORD on that day with great gladness. And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time, and anointed him unto the LORD to be prince, and Zadok
 23 to be priest. Then Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD as king instead of David his father, and prospered ;
 24 and all Israel obeyed him. And all the princes, and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David,
 25 submitted themselves unto Solomon the king. And the LORD magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel.
- 26 Now David the son of Jesse reigned over all Israel.
 27 And the time that he reigned over Israel was forty years ; seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three
 28 years reigned he in Jerusalem. And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour : and Solomon

22. the second time: for the first consecration of Solomon cf. 1 Chron. xxxiii. 1 ; 1 Kings i. 32 ff.

Zadok: it is interesting to note the part which the popular representatives played, not only in regard to the royal succession, but also in their sanction of the high-priesthood.

xxix. 23-30. *Solomon's Succession.*

23. on the throne of the LORD: a phrase by which the chronicler expresses the sanctity of the Davidic monarchy.

25. the LORD magnified Solomon: the historian views the reign of David as closing with a gorgeous sunset, while that of Solomon opens with a brilliant sunrise.

27. in Hebron: this is one of the few references of the chronicler to the early reign of David ; the seven years in Hebron are passed over in silence.

his son reigned in his stead. Now the acts of David the 29
king, first and last, behold, they are written in the history
of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the
prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer ; with all his 30
reign and his might, and the times that went over him,
and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries.

29. The chronicler closes his account of the reign of David with a reference to his sources of information. For a discussion of the subject, see Introd. § iv.

over all the kingdoms: refers to the neighbouring states with which David came in contact.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

THE CHRONICLES

1 [Ch] AND Solomon the son of David was strengthened

THIRD PART.

i-ix. The Reign of Solomon.

IN his treatment of the reign of Solomon the chronicler gives yet further indication of the special aim which determines his selection of material. Introducing the reader to the reign of Israel's most magnificent ruler by an account of the inaugural sacrifices at Gibeon and a brief reference to his extraordinary power and wealth, he devotes the greater part of his space to the central theme of the building of the Temple and the organization of its affairs. This is followed by a summary of Solomon's other architectural achievements, a description of his grandeur, and an account of his further ecclesiastical arrangements.

The materials for this narrative have been taken very largely from sources identical with those of 1 Kings i to xi; but the chronicler's work is remarkable both for its omissions and for its additions thereto. He undoubtedly represents Solomon in a different light from that in which he stands in the earlier history. To the author of 1 Kings, Solomon was a ruler of genius and initiative, anxious for the aggrandizement of himself and of his country. He depicts the unfolding civilization and the growing splendour of his age, and shows how the king's tastes were gratified by his costly building operations. But he also records his marriage alliance with an alien princess, his prolific idolatry, and his political troubles.

The chronicler depicts Solomon in a manner which would leave an altogether erroneous impression, did we not possess the supplementary details of 1 Kings. Omitting the history of Adonijah's conspiracy, the Egyptian marriage, the splendour of the court, the building of the palace, the growth of royal idolatry, and the numerous political dissensions, he shows Solomon as, *par excellence*, the Temple-Builder.

in his kingdom, and the LORD his God was with him, and magnified him exceedingly. And Solomon spake unto all ² Israel, to the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and to the judges, and to every prince in all Israel, the heads of the fathers' houses. So Solomon, and all the congregation ³ with him, went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for

So far as the chronicler was using 1 Kings for his source of information he was employing a composite narrative. In the *Century Bible* on 'Kings' (Skinner) the various constituents of this portion of 1 Kings are thus named:—(1) Annals of the reign of Solomon; (2) Description of the Temple and the utensils of worship; (3) Narratives of incidents in Solomon's reign; (4) Deuteronomic additions.

(1) i. *Commencement of Solomon's Reign.*

i. 1-13. *Solomon at Gibeon.* No sooner was Solomon safely established in his kingdom than he convened a great national religious assembly at the shrine of Gibeon. A solemn holocaust was offered upon the brazen altar before the ancient Tabernacle; and during the following night Jehovah appeared to Solomon in a dream and granted his request for the wisdom requisite for the discharge of the royal office. The material for the narrative is found in 1 Kings, thus:—

2 Chron. i. 3^a = 1 Kings iii. 4^a
 „ i. 6^b-13 = „ iii. 4^b-13, 15^b, and iv. 1.

It has been fully worked over in the hands of the chronicler.

1. strengthened in his kingdom: the threatened rebellion of Adonijah was crushed, undesirable characters removed, and the throne rendered as secure as possible. Upon every act of the young monarch the divine blessing manifestly rested.

2. Solomon spake unto all Israel: it was a national and representative assembly that gathered to accompany the young king to this ecclesiastical consecration of the new reign.

3. the high place that was at Gibeon: Gibeon, in the territory of Benjamin, 6 miles north-west of Jerusalem, is represented by the modern el-Jib. The chronicler's assertion that Solomon convened the assembly at this spot is explained by the statement that the Mosaic Tabernacle and the brazen altar were there. This addition to the briefer narrative of 1 Kings is regarded by many critics as unreliable, and as due to the chronicler's reluctance to recognize that the high-place of Gibeon was the site of a prominent, ancient Canaanitish sanctuary. But the

there was the tent of meeting of God, which Moses the servant of the LORD had made in the wilderness. But the ark of God had David brought up from Kiriath-jearim to *the place* that David had prepared for it: for he had pitched a tent for it at Jerusalem. Moreover the brasen altar, that Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made, was there before the tabernacle of the LORD: and Solomon and the congregation sought unto it. [Ch²] And Solomon went up thither to the brasen altar before the LORD, which was at the tent of meeting, and offered a thousand burnt offerings upon it.

7 In that night did God appear unto Solomon, and said 8 unto him, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said unto God, Thou hast shewed great kindness unto David my father, and hast made me king in his stead. 9 Now, O LORD God, let thy promise unto David my father be established: for thou hast made me king over a 10 people like the dust of the earth in multitude. Give me

chronicler is evidently recording what was a fixed belief in his own age, and as such it may be credited. We find the same belief expressed in 1 Chron. xxi. 29. Yet the dislike of the Deuteronomic school of historians to any reference to remnants of Canaanitish worship is shown even in 1 Kings iii. 4, where the words 'high place' are changed to 'the altar' in some MSS.

5. Bezalel: cf. Exod. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxvii. 1, &c.

was there: (Heb. *shām*) so many MSS. read, but many early MSS. and the Syriac version read 'he had put' (Heb. *sām*).

7. In that night: i.e. in the night following the great sacrifices. The author of Kings says that Jehovah appeared to Solomon in a dream, and this is at least implied here. Jehovah's words are, 'Ask what I shall give thee!'

i. 8-10. Solomon's reply is given much more briefly than in 1 Kings iii. 6-9, where the language is very heavily laden with Deuteronomic phrases. We are reminded by the wording of our passage of 1 Chron. xvii. 23.

10. Give me now wisdom and knowledge: 1 Kings says 'an understanding heart.' He desired intellectual and moral fitness

now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this people: for who can judge this thy people, that is so great? And God said to Solomon, Because this ¹¹ was in thine heart, and thou hast not asked riches, wealth, or honour, nor the life of them that hate thee, neither yet hast asked long life; but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my people, over whom I have made thee king: wisdom and knowledge is ¹² granted unto thee; and I will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour, such as none of the kings have had that have been before thee, neither shall there any after thee have the like. So Solomon came *from his journey* to the high ¹³ place that was at Gibeon, from before the tent of meeting, unto Jerusalem; and he reigned over Israel.

[H] And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: ¹⁴

for his position, rather than wealth. The solemnity of the great religious ceremonies at Gibeon, together with a due appreciation of the responsibilities of his position, led Solomon to desire to be a discreet rather than a magnificent monarch. This request so reveals a harmony with the will of Jehovah that he not only grants it but promises to add to it all that will make the reign glorious.

that I may go out and come in: i. e. perform the duties of the kingship.

judge: the dispensation of justice was the prerogative of an eastern king, but the whole round of royal duties seems to be implied here.

i. 11-13. The promise of God is given in language considerably briefer than in 1 Kings, and the assurance of a long life is omitted, probably because Solomon failed to fulfil the condition and so to receive the promise.

13. to the high place: read 'from the high place' with LXX and Vulgate.

he reigned over Israel: corresponds to 1 Kings iv. 1, the intervening account of sacrifices before the Ark at Jerusalem being omitted by the chronicler.

i. 14-17. *Solomon's Horses and Chariots.* This section is taken very closely from 1 Kings x. 26-29 and is repeated with some variations in 2 Chron. ix. 13-28. The narrative deals with the

and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the
 15 chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem. And the king made silver and gold to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the sycomore trees that are
 16 in the lowland, for abundance. And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; the king's merchants received them in droves, each drove at a price.

horses and chariots gathered by the king, the regular traffic in horses, and the prices paid. Verse 15 may be an interpolation in the original as it breaks the connexion of the narrative.

14. chariots and horsemen: this was contrary to the Deuteronomic legislation. Cf. Deut. xvii. 16. The numbers are given differently in the parallel passage in 2 Chron. ix. 25, and the various recensions of the LXX show considerable discrepancies in dealing with these passages and the corresponding verse in 1 Kings.

15. The verse is clearly out of place in the context.

in the lowland: i. e. the Shephelah. Cf. note on 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

16. The variations found in the LXX and in the Vulgate make it evident that the text is corrupt here. Another proof of corruption is found in the mention of Egypt, for it is almost certain that horses were not exported thence in the time of Solomon. In the Vulgate we read of a second place of exportation of horses in addition to Egypt: viz. Kuë, and this has led to the critical adoption of the reading suggested here by Hugo Winckler (cf. *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*): 'And the export of Solomon's horses was from Muzri and Kuë.' The corruption of this text was an easy matter. Muzri (the name for Cappadocia) was easily mistaken for Mizraim (Egypt) and then the Hebrew word Mikkoë ('from Koë,' i. e. Cilicia) was corrupted to Mikwë, 'a drove.' The original narrative declared that Solomon, like the kings of Syria (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 14), received his horses from the great horse-breeding districts of Cappadocia and Cilicia. The question then arises, How did the corruption occur? It is conceivable that the chronicler (1) found the text of 1 Kings already corrupt, or (2) himself misunderstood the original. It is probable that both causes contributed to our text, i. e. the chronicler already found Egypt (Mizraim) instead of Cappadocia (Muzri) and then further modified the original to harmonize it with this corruption.

the king's merchants . . . price: read 'the king's merchants bought them from Kuë at a price.'

And they fetched up, and brought out of Egypt a chariot 17 for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means.

[Ch] Now Solomon purposed to build an house for 2 the name of the LORD, and an house for his kingdom.

[Ch²] And Solomon told out threescore and ten thousand 2

17. Egypt: again read Muzri, i. e. Cappadocia.

the kings of the Hittites: the ancient Hittite empire was situated between the Euphrates and the Orontes in northern Syria, with Carchemish as one of its most important centres. Its power was at its height as early as 1000 B. C. Solomon made marriage alliances with Hittite princesses. Between 1600 and 1300 B. C. the Pharaohs conducted numerous campaigns against the miscellaneous principalities of the Hittites which lay around the Taurus mountains, but never succeeded in completing their subjugation. Evidently the Hittites were formidable rivals of the Babylonians, although the name Hittite does not appear in any cuneiform inscription earlier than 1100 B. C., when Tiglath-Pileser I claims a victory over them. They disappeared from history as an imperial power in the eighth century B. C.

(2) ii. *Preparations for the Temple.*

The first great undertaking of the reign of Solomon was the building of the Temple. Upon the base of the lavish preparations of David, Solomon proceeded to make further provision. He entered into a commercial treaty with Hiram, king of Tyre, to secure timber and skilled labour in return for oil and grain. Hiram, long an ally of David's house, readily consented to further Solomon's schemes—all the more eagerly in that he was himself a renowned architect. The narrative is elaborated in the chronicler's usual manner from 1 Kings v. 2–18.

1. Solomon purposed to build an house: in the Hebrew text this verse stands as the closing verse of chap. i. It is, however, correctly placed by the Revisers as the introduction to the following narrative of Solomon's preparations for the Temple. The chronicler omits the account of Hiram's embassy of congratulation to Solomon on his succession.

an house for his kingdom: this and chap. vii. 11 are the only references to the royal palace upon which Solomon bestowed more time and labour than upon the Temple. Cf. 1 Kings vii. 1, 2.

2. Solomon levied a vast body of men from among his subjects

men to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand men that were hewers in the mountains, and three thousand and
 3 six hundred to oversee them. And Solomon sent to Hiram the king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him
 4 an house to dwell therein, *even so deal with me*. Behold, I build an house for the name of the LORD my God, to dedicate it to him, and to burn before him incense of sweet spices, and for the continual shewbread, and for the burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the set feasts of the LORD
 5 our God. This is *an ordinance* for ever to Israel. And

for forced labour in cutting timber and hewing stone for the Temple and the palace (cf. note on verse 17). The numbers, though large, are not open to suspicion, as the work to be done would probably require as many workmen, when the conditions of forced labour are allowed for. In 1 Kings v. 13 we read of a smaller levy for the forest work in Lebanon. Our text has reference to the labour in the home quarries, where 70,000 were hauliers, 80,000 quarrymen, and 3,600 overseers (one to every forty-two workmen). In place of 3,600 for the overseers 1 Kings has 3,300; the difference being due to the fact that the earlier history only numbers the lower ranks of overseers.

in the mountains: good limestone was obtainable in the hills of Palestine.

ii. 3-16. *Treaty with Hiram.*

3. Hiram the king of Tyre: cf. note on 1 Chron. xiv. 1. The original form of the name probably was Hīrôm. According to the accepted chronology (cf. Winckler), Hiram ascended the throne of Tyre in 968 B. C., or some three years later than the accession of Solomon to the throne of David. Hiram's friendship is said to have cheered David's later days, but cf. note on 1 Chron. xiv. 1.

4. an house for the name of the LORD: i.e. for Jehovah Himself. The specific acts of worship named are those prescribed in the Deuteronomic ritual.

an ordinance for ever: the wide difference between this passage and the parallel passage in 1 Kings shows that both authors were freely paraphrasing the royal message. The language of 2 Chronicles betrays the standpoint of one who was familiar with the ritual of the second Temple and Ezra's legislation.

the house which I build is great : for great is our God above all gods. But who is able to build him an house, 6 seeing the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him? who am I then, that I should build him an house, save only to burn incense before him? Now there- 7 fore send me a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave *all manner of* gravings, *to be* with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide. Send 8 me also cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees, out of Lebanon : for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon ; and, behold, my servants shall be with thy servants, even to prepare me timber in abun- 9 dance : for the house which I am about to build shall be wonderful great. And, behold, I will give to thy servants, 10

5. great is our God : cf. Deut. x. 17.

6. the heaven of heavens cannot contain him : the chronicler is writing with the language of Solomon's dedicatory prayer in his mind ; cf. 2 Chron. vi. 18.

only to burn incense : Solomon confesses his unworthiness to build the Temple, and declares that his only aim is to be able fitly to perform the acts of reverent worship of Jehovah.

7. a man cunning : Solomon asks for a skilled smith for the working of precious metals and stones to aid his own craftsmen and to take charge of the entire decorative work of the sanctuary.

8. fir trees : margin 'cypress trees,' but Robertson Smith argues in favour of 'fir.'

algum trees : another form of the word is 'almug'; it probably denotes the sandal-wood and it is said elsewhere to have been obtained from Ophir.

9. shall be wonderful great : the Hebrew expresses it by using the adverbial infinitive.

10. The narrative in 1 Kings makes it evident that the natural produce mentioned here was contributed yearly to serve both as payment and for the maintenance of the labourers. No mention is made of the yearly contribution to the Tyrian royal house of which 1 Kings gives details.

the hewers that cut timber, twenty thousand measures of beaten wheat, and twenty thousand measures of barley, and twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand
 11 baths of oil. Then Hiram the king of Tyre answered in writing, which he sent to Solomon, Because the LORD loveth his people, he hath made thee king over them.
 12 Hiram said moreover, Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, endued with discretion and understanding, that should build an house for the LORD,
 13 and an house for his kingdom. And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Hiram my
 14 father's, the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to devise any device: that there may be *a place* appointed unto him with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord
 15 David thy father. Now therefore the wheat and the

measures of beaten wheat: the word 'measure' is literally 'cor'; the amount was about eleven bushels. The whole contribution was such as would probably be required to sustain the workmen employed. The expression 'beaten wheat' is obscure, and probably arose by an orthographical error for the word for 'food'—read 'wheat for food'—so LXX.

11, 12. The language of Hiram is such as a worshipper of Jehovah might use, but it must not be taken to imply such an attitude in his case.

13. of Hiram my father's: read 'namely Hiram-abi.' The name of Hiram's father was Abibaal. Hence it is evident that *abi* (= 'my father') must here be taken as a termination of the craftsman's name precisely as it is often found as the first syllable of a name, e. g. Abi-melech.

14. Hiram-abi is described in terms which recall the artificer of the Tabernacle, Bezalel; cf. Exod. xxxi. 2.

15, 16. Hiram ratifies the agreement which Solomon proposed.

barley, the oil and the wine, which my lord hath spoken of, let him send unto his servants: and we will cut wood 16 out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need: and we will bring it to thee in floats by sea to Joppa; and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem. And Solomon numbered 17 all the strangers that were in the land of Israel, after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered them; and they were found an hundred and fifty thousand and three thousand and six hundred. And he 18 set threescore and ten thousand of them to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand that were hewers in the mountains, and three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people awork.

Then Solomon began to build the house of the LORD 3

The floats of timber were to be navigated as far as Joppa (i. e. Jaffa), the port of Jerusalem.

17, 18. *Solomon's Levy of Aliens.* Solomon ordered an enumeration of all the descendants of the Canaanites who remained in the land (cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 2). Thus we learn that the levy mentioned in verse 2 was limited to the alien population.

(3) iii—v. 1. *The Building of the Temple.*

The description of the Temple buildings is derived from 1 Kings vi. 1-3, 5-35, vii. 15-21, 23-26, 38-51, and leads up to certain critical problems. Yet it is scarcely necessary to concern ourselves here with the corruptions existing in the text of the Book of Kings. We are merely concerned to know what the chronicler himself wrote. His originals were undoubtedly corrupt, and in many cases they certainly differed from what the author of 1 Kings originally wrote; yet they appear to have been generally identical with the present inaccurate text of 1 Kings. In working over these originals our writer has taken special care to use all facts referring to the Temple and its ritual.

At the outset the site of the Temple and the dates of the building are determined. Then the Temple buildings are described, commencing with the outer buildings and concluding with the interior. The description falls into six sections, viz. (1) iii. 1-3, Preliminary Details; (2) iii. 4-7, The Porch and the Holy Place; (3) iii. 8-14, The

at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where *the LORD* appeared unto David his father, which he made ready in the place that David had appointed, in the threshing-floor of Ornan
 2 the Jebusite. And he began to build in the second *day*
 of the second month, in the fourth year of his reign.
 3 Now these are the foundations which Solomon laid for

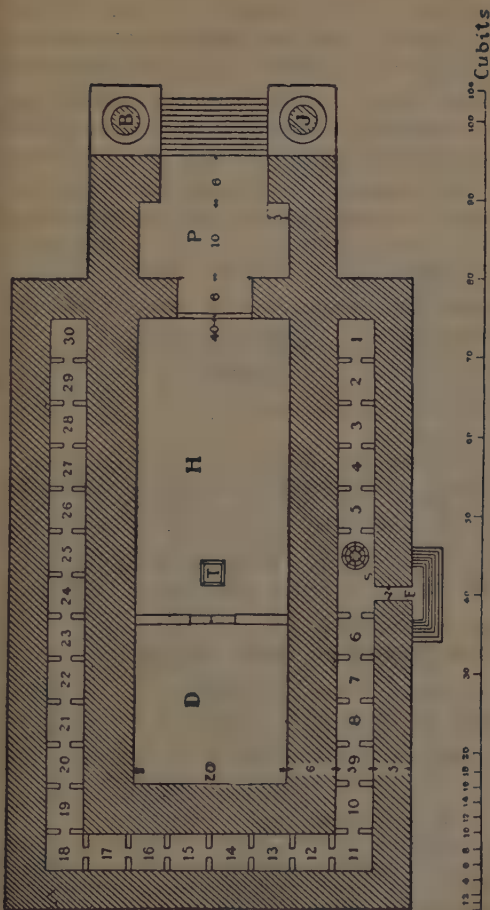
Inner Shrine; (4) iii. 15-17, The Brazen Pillars; (5) iv. 1-22, The Sacred Vessels and the Court; (6) v. 1, Completion of the Temple.

(1) iii. 1-3. *Preliminary Details.*

1. in mount Moriah: the account of the Temple buildings is prefaced by a description of the site. This is stated to be 'in mount Moriah'; but great obscurity hangs over the position indicated. Its only other mention is in Genesis xxii, and there it is used of the scene of Abraham's interrupted sacrifice of Isaac. Between the date of the composition of Genesis and the time of the chronicler the name does not occur again. But evidently the belief that the Temple stood upon the actual spot of Abraham's sacrifice, as also of Ornan's threshing-floor, had become so well established by the age of the chronicler that he is able to identify the one spot for both scenes without need of further explanation. The words 'mount Moriah' have been explained as a corruption of 'mountain of the Amorites' (so Syriac) or even as meaning 'mountain of the appearance of Jehovah,' but both these explanations are unsatisfactory. Moriah is the lofty hill which lies to the north-east of Jerusalem; it rises some 200 feet above the south-east hill on which stood the ancient fortress of Zion, and afforded a tolerably level surface of about 5,500 square yards. (Cf. 'Kings' by Skinner in *Century Bible* for a full discussion of the Temple site.)

where the LORD appeared unto David: the text is unintelligible as it stands in the Hebrew. Read, with LXX and Vulgate, as in the R. V. margin, 'in the place which David had prepared, in the threshing-floor.'

3. these are the foundations: the Temple building rose upon a rectangular foundation measuring 60 cubits from east to west and 20 cubits from north to south. From 1 Kings vi. 20, we gather that these were the internal measurements, and one may perhaps infer from the description of Ezekiel's ideal Temple that there was an inner wall of 6 cubits thickness and an outer wall of 5 cubits (Ezek. xli. 5, 9), between which were situated the three stories of cells. The completed Temple would present the



Ground Plan of Solomon's Temple.

B and J = Boaz and Jachin—the pillars.

H = the porch.

T = the table of shewbread.

D = the *Debir*

to the chambers. 1, 2, &c., the chambers after Ezekiel's temple.

S = the stairway to the upper chambers.

E = entrance

By permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark and the Rev. T. W. Davies, author of the article 'Temple' in *Hastings's*

Dictionary of the Bible.

the building of the house of God. The length by cubits after the first measure was threescore cubits, and the
 4 breadth twenty cubits. And the porch that was before
the house, the length of it, according to the breadth of the house, was twenty cubits, and the height an hundred and
 5 twenty: and he overlaid it within with pure gold. And the greater house he cieled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and wrought thereon palm trees and
 6 chains. And he garnished the house with precious stones

appearance of a massive pile of buildings somewhat after the Phœnician style of architecture.

by cubits after the first measure: the phrase denotes the ancient measurement known as the sacred cubit, which was longer than the ordinary cubit. The exact length of the cubit is uncertain, but, on the basis of the Egyptian cubit, it may roughly be reckoned as 20.7 inches (cf. 'Weights and Measures' in *Ency. Bib.*). This gives the interior measurements of the Temple foundations as 104 × 35 feet.

(2) iii. 4-7. *The Porch and Holy Place.* The great entrance porch is here stated to have measured 20 cubits (35 feet) from north to south, and to have attained a height of 120 cubits (208 feet). Behind the porch lay the main hall, or nave, of the Temple, and yet further westward lay the sacred inner shrine.

4. The Hebrew text is quite unintelligible and must be emended. Kittel suggests a reading based on the LXX along with 1 Kings vi. 3: 'and the porch which was before the Ark, according to the breadth of the house, was 20 cubits,' &c.

the height an hundred and twenty: the absolute want of proportion suggests an error in the numbers. If the height of this structure actually were double the length of the Temple it would be a tower and not a porch. The height is given as 20 cubits in LXX, Syriac, &c.; but this does not accord with the height of the pillars as given in 1 Kings vi. 36. Perhaps the original figures were 30 cubits (53 feet).

5. **the greater house:** i. e. the 'Holy Place' or nave, usually designated by the Hebrew word *hēkāl*.

he cieled with fir tree: or, 'wainscoted with cypress wood.'

wrought thereon palm trees and chains: the gold which overlaid the interior of the 'Holy Place' was carved with designs of palms and garlands (cf. 1 Kings vi. 18).

6. **with precious stones:** such lavish decorations seem to be quite in keeping with Oriental custom.

for beauty: and the gold was gold of Parvaim. He 7 overlaid also the house, the beams, the thresholds, and the walls thereof, and the doors thereof, with gold; and graved cherubim on the walls. And he made the most 8 holy house; the length thereof, according to the breadth of the house, was twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits: and he overlaid it with fine gold, amounting to six hundred talents. And the weight of the nails 9 was fifty shekels of gold. And he overlaid the upper chambers with gold. And in the most holy house he 10 made two cherubim of image work; and they overlaid them with gold. And the wings of the cherubim were 11

gold of Parvaim: Glaser¹ identifies the source of Solomon's gold with Sak-el-Farwain in the Yemen, mentioned by the Arabian geographer Hamdāni; but the text is in some confusion, and not improbably the original ran, 'he covered it with timber of fir trees' (Heb. *bērōšim*).

7. The gold ornamentation described here bears a close resemblance to that of Ezekiel's Temple (Ezek. xli. 18); hence many critics believe that the chronicler is describing the work of later days as though it were actually carried out under Solomon. The interior of the building, however, was certainly lavishly adorned with gold in its very earliest days.

(3) iii. 8-14. *The Inner Shrine.* West of the 'Holy Place' was situated the smaller, or Most Holy Place. It had no windows, and would be shrouded in darkness, except for artificial light.

8. most holy house: the Hebrew literally means, 'the house, the Holy of holies,' i. e. the inner shrine, also called the *debir*. It measured 20 x 20 cubits (35 x 35 feet), and the chronicler states that the gold plating was valued at 600 talents (or about £3,690,000), while the nails used to fasten the plates of metal to the wooden walls were valued at 50 shekels (£103).

9. the upper chambers: these were the small rooms or storage cells between the walls.

10-13. the cherubim: within the *debir* stood two winged figures, the cherubim. These seem to have been a kind of Hebrew equivalent to the winged bulls of Assyria and, in an incomparably loftier manner, represented the presence of God. They were almost certainly of human form. Unlike the cherubim upon the lid of the Ark (Exod. xxv. 20), they both faced eastwards towards

¹ Eduard Glaser, Austrian traveller in Arabia.

twenty cubits long : the wing of the one *cherub* was five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house ; and the other wing was *likewise* five cubits, reaching to the wing of the
 12 other cherub. And the wing of the other cherub was five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house : and the other wing was five cubits *also*, joining to the wing of the
 13 other cherub. The wings of these cherubim spread themselves forth twenty cubits : and they stood on their
 14 feet, and their faces were toward the house. And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and crimson, and fine
 15 linen, and wrought cherubim thereon. Also he made before the house two pillars of thirty and five cubits high, and the chapter that was on the top of each of them was
 16 five cubits. And he made chains in the oracle, and put

the *hékāl*. They stood 10 cubits ($17\frac{1}{2}$ feet) in height with wings extended so that the tip of the right wing of one touched the tip of the left wing of the other, while the outer wings touched the north and south walls respectively. Each wing was 5 cubits ($8\frac{1}{2}$ feet) in length, and the figures were overlaid with gold.

14. The veil, or curtain, dividing the *debîr* from the *hékāl* was woven of the same material as the curtain of the Mosaic Tabernacle ; cf. Exod. xxvi. 31.

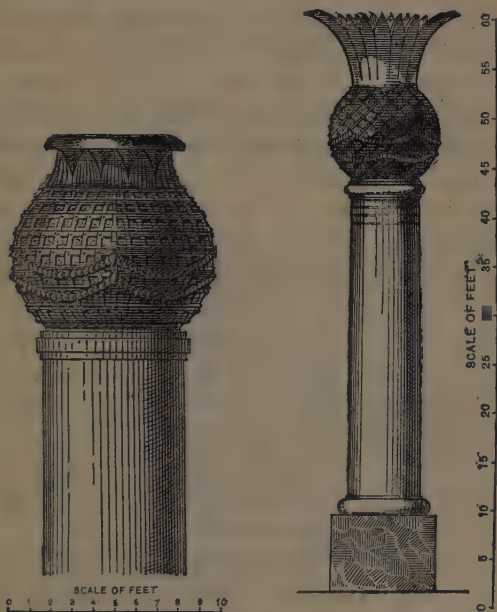
(4) iii. 15-17. *The brazen pillars*. Before the porch of the Temple stood two great brazen pillars, adorned with chapiters. They are more fully described in 1 Kings vii. 15-22.

15. *thirty and five cubits high* : in 1 Kings vii. 15 they are said to be 18 cubits high and 12 cubits in circumference, with chapiters of 5 cubits height. If these dimensions be added together they give the chronicler's figure of 35, which may have been thus erroneously obtained. More probably it is a mere scribal error, as the Hebrew numerals, represented by letters of the alphabet, are easily mistaken. Thus יח (= 18) was read as יג (= 35).

16. *he made chains in the oracle* : i.e. ornamental chain-work for the chapiters. The word 'oracle' (*debîr*) is meaningless here, and has evidently arisen by a transposition of the consonants ; we must read instead *rābîd*, 'a necklace,' i.e. 'the lower border of the capital.' Comparing this passage with 1 Kings vii. 17-20, 41, 42, and 2 Chron. iv. 12, 13, we gather that the chapiters were in two parts. The first section was globular in shape, girded

them on the tops of the pillars ; and he made an hundred pomegranates, and put them on the chains. And he set ¹⁷ up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand,

with a chain-like network one cubit high, with a row of carved pomegranates below and above the chain-work. Surmounting this was the upper section, which (according to the uncertain description in 1 Kings vii. 17) was shaped like an open lily, or constituted a border of lily work.



BRAZEN PILLARS.

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17. The meaning of the verse is uncertain. Possibly the pillars formed an integral part of the porch and sustained the

and the other on the left; and called the name of that on the right hand Jachin, and the name of that on the left Boaz. [H] Moreover he made an altar of brass, twenty
 4 cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof. Also he made
 2 the molten sea of ten cubits from brim to brim, round in

lintel, as in Ezekiel's Temple. More probably they stood clear of the Temple, that named Jachin to the south and that named Boaz to the north. The latter view is supported by the fact that similar pillars were frequently erected before Semitic temples; and, as illustrated on ancient coins and decorated vases, these pillars are always distinct from the porch (cf. Herodotus ii. 44, the Temple of Melkarth at Tyre, &c.). The names of the pillars are unintelligible to-day. **Jachin** (Heb. = 'He shall establish') is the Phoenician equivalent of the Hebrew name 'Jehovah' (Heb. 'Yahweh'). **Boaz** means 'In it is strength.' But the very fact that the pillars had names indicates that a special significance attached to them. It does not seem probable that they had any religious meaning in the time of Solomon, as, for instance, standing for symbols of Jehovah. But the custom of erecting two columns before a temple, which Solomon's architects and Tyrian smiths conventionally followed, although the significance had been forgotten, may be traced to Semitic symbolism of the deity. The two obelisks which invariably stood before heathen temples were supposed to be the abodes of the deity; and it is interesting to recall the fact that two pillars were erected before Babylonian temples as symbols of the gods Tammuz and Nin-giz-Zidar (cf. Sayce, *Early Religion of Egypt and Babylonia*), which names may have been respectively corrupted to Boaz and Jachin. In Solomon's Temple the pillars still remained in agreement with prevalent custom, but the heathen significance no longer attached to them.

(5) iv. 1-22. *The Sacred Vessels and the Temple Court.*

1. an altar of brass: the forging of this altar of brass is not mentioned in 1 Kings; and in our text we merely have the measurements, viz. $20 \times 20 \times 10$ cubits (i. e. $34\frac{1}{2} \times 34\frac{1}{2} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ feet). It is probable that the altar rose in stages, each diminishing by two cubits as in Ezekiel's Temple (cf. Ezek. xliii. 13-17), so that the actual hearth which formed the third stage at the summit would measure $20\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

2. the molten sea: this stood in the south-east of the court of the Temple. It must have been a most elaborate specimen

compass, and the height thereof was five cubits; and a line of thirty cubits compassed it round about. And ³ under it was the similitude of oxen, which did compass it round about, for ten cubits, compassing the sea round about. The oxen were in two rows, cast when it was cast. It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward ⁴ the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea was set upon them above, and all their hinder parts were inward. And it was an handbreadth ⁵ thick; and the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily: it received and held three thousand baths. [Ch²] He made also ten lavers, and ⁶

of the skilled work of the Tyrian founder. The shape is somewhat uncertain. Josephus describes it as a hemisphere (*Ant.* viii. 35), but the capacity named in the text makes it more probable that it was cylindrical. Its measurements are given as 10 cubits ($17\frac{1}{2}$ feet) in diameter and 5 cubits ($8\frac{3}{4}$ feet) in depth. It stood upon the backs of twelve brazen oxen, which were so placed that three faced towards each of the four quarters of the heavens.

3. similitude of oxen: read, with 1 Kings vii. 24, 'there were knops.' The scribe read *beqārīm* instead of *peqū'im*. A knop was probably a gourd-shaped ornamentation. In each case where the word 'oxen' occurs in the verse we must read 'knops.'

cast when it was cast: i. e. they were in relief, not carved as undercut.

5. an handbreadth thick: about three inches.

like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily: the ornamental brim opened out at the top of the sea.

three thousand baths: i. e. 24,015 gallons. 1 Kings vii. 36 reads 2,000 baths, i. e. 16,010 gallons. There must be a mistake in the figures. A bath is just over eight gallons. If the sea were hemispherical its capacity would have been exactly 6,376 gallons; if cylindrical, 10,798 gallons. Hence the sea cannot have held much more than, say, 7,000 gallons or 900 baths. Nothing is said as to how the sea was filled and the water drawn. Klostermann would emend 1 Kings vii. 23 so as to read 'there were thirty cocks around the sea,' and it has been

put five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in them; such things as belonged to the burnt offering they washed in them: but the sea was for the priests to wash
 7 in. And he made the ten candlesticks of gold according to the ordinance concerning them; and he set them in the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left.
 8 He made also ten tables, and placed them in the temple,

conjectured that the water would be drawn, fountain-like, through the mouths of the ocean.

6. ten lavers: these were provided for the washing of the sacrificial gifts. They were placed upon wheeled stands and were situated five on each side of the Temple building. They are described in detail in 1 Kings vii. 27-39.

the sea was for the priests to wash in: the manifest inconvenience of this, unless the conjecture that the water was drawn as stated above be correct, suggests that the 'sea,' like the brazen pillars, originally had a symbolical meaning. Not improbably the presence of such a 'sea' near a Semitic temple symbolized the subterranean ocean, known as *tehôm*, and has an historical connexion with the creation story of Babylonia, according to which the gods struggle for the mastery with the dragon (Tiamat). Cf. Sayce, *Early Religions of Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 458, &c. Of course this does not imply that any such heathen ideas were connected with Solomon's 'sea,' although Hebrew worshippers might still read in its symbolism the power of Jehovah over the deep. It is noteworthy that in Ezekiel's ideal temple the 'sea' is replaced by a symbolical fountain (Ezek. xlvii. 1).

iv. 7-9. *The Temple Furniture and Courts.* Probably these verses originally stood in 1 Kings also, and have been omitted by an error. They are summarized in 1 Kings vii. 48, 49, as also in verses 19, 20 of our chapter.

7. ten candlesticks of gold: artificial lights were always employed, both of necessity and symbolically, in Semitic temples. Solomon's candlesticks stood on either side of the Holy Place.

according to the ordinance: the phrase refers to the Mosaic regulations (Exod. xxv. 31 ff.) and probably also to the patterns given by David.

8. ten tables: Keil explains that these were used for the shewbread (verse 14); but the reasons for such a belief are inadequate. Probably they were used for objects connected with the candelabra. 1 Kings knows nothing of these tables.

five on the right side, and five on the left. And he made an hundred basons of gold. Furthermore he made 9 the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass. [H] And he set the sea on the right side of the house 10 eastward, toward the south. And Hiram made the pots, 11 and the shovels, and the basons. So Hiram made an end of doing the work that he wrought for king Solomon in the house of God: the two pillars, and the bowls, and 12 the two chapiters which were on the top of the pillars; and the two networks to cover the two bowls of the chapiters that were on the top of the pillars; and the 13 four hundred pomegranates for the two networks; two rows of pomegranates for each network, to cover the two bowls of the chapiters that were upon the pillars. He 14 made also the bases, and the lavers made he upon the

an hundred basons: possibly these were flagons for wine and libations (Amos vi. 6), or else they served for use in holding the blood for sprinkling.

9. We have no further description of these courts. What seems to be meant here is that the actual Temple buildings were surrounded by an inner wall which thus formed 'the court of the priests,' whereas another wall encircled the entire area of the Temple hill. The earliest reference to these courts occurs in Ezekiel, and the distinction between laity and ecclesiastic was somewhat late in securing prominence.

10. The statement of this verse refers us back to verse 2. The 'sea' was placed in the south-east corner of the inner court.

11. **Hiram made the pots:** i. e. Hiram-abi.

iv. 11^b-22. *Inventory of the Temple Furniture.* As in 1 Kings vii. 40^b-50, the work of Hiram-abi is catalogued in such a way as to agree substantially with the preceding descriptions. There are only a few verbal differences between this inventory and the parallel passage in 1 Kings.

12. **the bowls:** the lower sections of the chapiters.

13. **upon the pillars:** read 'on the two pillars.' The scribe has read *penē* instead of *shenē*.

15, 16 bases; one sea, and the twelve oxen under it. The
 pots also, and the shovels, and the fleshhooks, and
 all the vessels thereof, did Hiram his father make for
 king Solomon for the house of the LORD of bright
 17 brass. In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in
 18 the clay ground between Succoth and Zeredah. Thus
 Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance: for
 19 the weight of the brass could not be found out. And
 Solomon made all the vessels that were in the house
 of God, the golden altar also, and the tables whereon was
 20 the shewbread; and the candlesticks with their lamps,
 that they should burn according to the ordinance before
 21 the oracle, of pure gold; and the flowers, and the lamps,
 22 and the tongs, of gold, and that perfect gold; and the
 snuffers, and the basons, and the spoons, and the firepans,
 of pure gold: and as for the entry of the house, the inner
 doors thereof for the most holy place, and the doors of the

16. fleshhooks: Heb. *miṣlāgôth*, by an error for 'basons,'
 Heb. *miṣrāgôth*. Cf. 1 Kings vii. 45.

Hiram his father: read Hiram-abi. Cf. note on 2 Chron.
 ii. 13.

17. In the plain of Jordan: here clay was to be found in
 sufficient quantities for Hiram-abi's work. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist.*
Geog., p. 488.

in the clay ground: the text is suspicious, and perhaps
 Benzinger is correct in emending thus: 'at the ford of Admah.'
Succoth was a town in Gadite territory which has been identified
 with the great mound known as Dēr'Alla. **Zeredah** has not been
 identified. The forge of Hiram-abi was evidently placed with
 ■ view to the proximity of good clay and of good roads to the
 capital.

19. the golden altar: i. e. the altar of incense.

tables whereon was the shewbread: in 1 Kings vii. 48
 there is mention of only one table for the 'bread of the presence,'
 so that it is probable that we should read the word in the singular
 number and that this table is distinct from those mentioned in
 verse 8.

20. candlesticks: in later, post-exilic, days there was only
 one such in use.

house, *to wit*, of the temple, were of gold. Thus all the **5** work that Solomon wrought for the house of the LORD was finished. And Solomon brought in the things that David his father had dedicated; even the silver, and the gold, and all the vessels, and put them in the treasuries of the house of God.

Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all **2** the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel, unto Jerusalem, to bring up the

(6) v. 1. *Completion of the Temple.* Having thus completed the entire work of the Temple, Solomon brought in the consecrated gifts of David and stored them in the treasuries.

(4) v. 2—vii. 22. *Dedication of the Temple.*

As soon as the labour of building and furnishing the national sanctuary was completed, Solomon convened another national assembly for the solemn dedication of the Temple to Jehovah. The narrative evidently falls into four sections:—

(a) v. 2—vi. 11. The Transport of the Ark.

(b) vi. 12—42. Solomon's Dedictory Prayer.

(c) vii. 1—10. The Dedictory Sacrifices.

(d) vii. 11—22. *The Divine Response.*

The material for the narrative occurs in 1 Kings viii and ix, but the chronicler has enlarged characteristically upon the part taken by the Levites in the proceedings, and has added considerable fresh matter in the closing sections. A careful examination of the sources proves that the prayer of Solomon is the composition of one who was imbued with the spirit of the Deuteronomistic legislation, and that, in its present literary form, it has been compiled at a later date than the actual dedication of the Temple.

(a) v. 2—vi. 11. *The Transport of the Ark.* The Ark is now borne by the Levites from its tent on Mount Zion to the sacred *debir* in the Temple, to the accompaniment of sacrifices and songs; and its successful transport is celebrated by the grateful monarch.

v. 2—14. *The Ark is carried from Mount Zion.* These verses correspond with 1 Kings viii. 1—11, with the exception of the insertion of 11^b—13^a.

2. the elders of Israel: i. e. the tribal princes; **the heads of the tribes** are further described as 'princes of the fathers' houses,' i. e. of the tribal clans.

ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David,
 3 which is Zion. And all the men of Israel assembled
 themselves unto the king at the feast, which was *in* the
 4 seventh month. And all the elders of Israel came, and
 5 the Levites took up the ark. And they brought up the
 ark, and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels that
 were in the Tent; these did the priests the Levites bring
 6 up. And king Solomon and all the congregation of
 Israel, that were assembled unto him, were before the ark,
 sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor
 7 numbered for multitude. And the priests brought in the

the city of David, which is Zion: i. e. the ancient Jebusite stronghold on the heights south of where the Temple now stood. As the Temple hill was actually loftier than the site of Zion, there is a perfect aptness in the phrase 'to bring up the ark.'

3. at the feast, which was in the seventh month: the chronicler probably omits the name of the month for the reason that 1 Kings gives its Babylonian name, not the Hebrew. The feast is that of the harvest or vintage, which seems to have been invariably held in the seventh month: cf. Num. xxiii. 24-36; Lev. xxix. 12-38. Solomon made this great religious festival the occasion for the dedication of the Temple. Seven, or possibly eight, years had elapsed since the laying of the foundations.

4. the Levites took up the ark: 1 Kings viii. 3, 'the priests took up the ark.' The alteration reflects the enhanced importance of the position of the Levites in the chronicler's day. Looking back from his own circumstances he felt compelled to recognize Levites in these bearers of the Ark. Hence also in verse 5 it may be intentionally that the phrase of 1 Kings—'the priests and the Levites'—has been changed into 'the priests, the Levites,' although the versions seem to indicate merely a scribal error here.

5. the tent of meeting: this can only mean the Mosaic Tabernacle: cf. note on 1 Chron. xvi. 39. The text implies that the Tabernacle had been packed together and stowed in the tent which David had erected for the Ark on Zion. Whether this is historically correct is scarcely a matter for our present consideration; we know that the chronicler found it stated and credited in his own day.

6. The king, the princes, and the people preceded the Ark and probably offered sacrifices at various spots *en route*.

7. The Ark was carried by the bearers into the darkness and solitude of the *debir*.

ark of the covenant of the LORD unto its place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubim. For the cherubim 8 spread forth their wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubim covered the ark and the staves thereof above. And the staves were so long that the ends of the staves 9 were seen from the ark before the oracle; but they were not seen without: and there it is, unto this day. There 10 was nothing in the ark save the two tables which Moses put *there* at Horeb, when the LORD made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt. [Ch] And it came to pass, when the priests were come 11 out of the holy place, (for all the priests that were present had sanctified themselves, and did not keep their courses; also the Levites which were the singers, all of them, even 12 Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons and their brethren, arrayed in fine linen, with cymbals and psalteries and

8, 9. The Ark was so placed that the ends faced east and west. In accordance with Mosaic regulations (Exod. xxv. 15) the staves were not removed, but, in spite of their length, they were merely visible from the gloom of the *debîr* to any one in the *hêkāl*.

from the ark: read 'from the holy place,' with LXX and 1 Kings.

unto this day: not, of course, the chronicler's day.

10. Evidently the compiler of Kings had in his mind the tradition of days when other objects were kept within the Ark (cf. Heb. ix. 4). There is a close connexion between the Deuteronomic expression 'ark of the covenant of Jehovah' and the alleged contents of the Ark itself.

two tables: read 'the tables of the covenant which' with 1 Kings.

11^b-13^a. These verses are the chronicler's parenthesis explaining the action of the priests and choristers in the great ceremony of the transport of the Ark.

11. did not keep their courses: the whole body of priests took part in this unique festival.

12. The entire Levitic choirs were summoned to the ceremony, with the 120 priestly trumpeters. Cf. notes on 1 Chron. xv. 17-28 and xxv. 1-8.

- harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets :)
 13 it came even to pass, when the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the LORD ; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, and praised the LORD, *saying*, For he is good : for his mercy *endureth* for ever : that then the house was
 14 filled with a cloud, even the house of the LORD, [H] so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud : for the glory of the LORD filled the house of God.
 6 Then spake Solomon, The LORD hath said that he
 2 would dwell in the thick darkness. But I have built thee an house of habitation, and a place for thee to dwell

13^a. This verse takes up the narrative of 11^a and describes the burst of united song from the choirs as they chanted in unison the words quoted in 1 Chron. xvi. 34 ff. It is not possible to say whether the intervening verses 11^b–13^a are due to the chronicler himself or a later scribe.

13^b, 14. The narrative of 1 Kings viii. 10^b, 11 is here continued. The glory-cloud signified the presence of Jehovah : cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 9 ff.

vi. 1–11. This passage is taken almost verbally from 1 Kings viii. 12–21, and gives the words in which Solomon celebrates Jehovah's favour.

1, 2. We have here the concise words of the king, uttered when the glory-cloud filled the Temple. They constitute a unique specimen of Hebrew verse, and the precise form of the poetic original may be ascertained by the aid of the LXX and 1 Kings viii. 12, 13 (cf. 'Kings' by Skinner in *Century Bible, in loco*). The original, as restored by Cheyne, presents a perfect quatrain, and is thus rendered :—

The sun has Jehovah set in the heavens ;
 He (Himself) has resolved to dwell in thick darkness :
 Built have I a lofty mansion for Thee,
 A place for Thee to dwell in for (all) ages.

The utterance is a pregnant expression of the king's realization of the mystery of the Being of Jehovah, the all-creative God, as well as the condescension displayed in His self-limitation to dwell

in for ever. And the king turned his face, and blessed ³
all the congregation of Israel: and all the congregation
of Israel stood. And he said, Blessed be the LORD, the ⁴
God of Israel, which spake with his mouth unto David
my father, and hath with his hands fulfilled it, saying, Since ⁵
the day that I brought forth my people out of the land of
Egypt, I chose no city out of all the tribes of Israel to
build an house in, that my name might be there; neither
chose I any man to be prince over my people Israel: but ⁶
I have chosen Jerusalem, that my name might be there;
and have chosen David to be over my people Israel. Now ⁷
it was in the heart of David my father to build an house for

amongst men. The darkness of the oracle and the splendour of the cloud alike were symbolical of the Being of Jehovah—in whom mystery is illuminated with radiant glory.

vi. 3-11. *Solomon's Address to the People.* The king summarizes the steps which had led up to the building of the Temple. The address and the ensuing prayers are in perfect harmony with the Deuteronomic school of thought, as is evident from the style and language (cf. Driver, *Introd.* pp. 200-203). Hence it appears that the passage is not intended to give the actual words of Solomon, but rather to express facts under the form of speeches. This was the usual custom with early historians—e. g. Thucydides, Xenophon, &c. Consequently, the addresses put into the mouths of early characters not infrequently reflect the circumstances of the historian's own age. This is what seems to have occurred when the chronicler re-edited 1 Kings. He has added phrases and omitted passages in accordance with the special aim of his work, and has thus taken his stand in line with other ancient historians.

5, 6. The text here is more correct than in 1 Kings viii. 16, as the LXX version of the latter proves; but the writers' idea in these works differs from that of 2 Sam. vii, which they paraphrase. The thought of Nathan is that God had chosen to reveal His presence in a movable tent rather than in a house: here the thought is that God had terminated a transition age by choosing the city of Jerusalem for His dwelling and the house of David for the monarchy.

7-9. The words of Nathan are still the original of the statements

- the name of the LORD, the God of Israel. But the LORD said unto David my father, Whereas it was in thine heart to build an house for my name, thou didst well that it
 9 was in thine heart : nevertheless thou shalt not build the house ; but thy son that shall come forth out of thy loins,
 10 he shall build the house for my name. And the LORD hath performed his word that he spake ; for I am risen up in the room of David my father, and sit on the throne of Israel, as the LORD promised, and have built the house
 11 for the name of the LORD, the God of Israel. And there have I set the ark, wherein is the covenant of the LORD, which he made with the children of Israel.
- 12 And he stood before the altar of the LORD in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread
 13 forth his hands : [Ch²] (for Solomon had made a brasen scaffold, of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court ; and upon it he stood, and kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread

made here, but they are interpreted in the light of the subsequent building of the Temple under divine sanction.

11. Cf. note on v. 10.

(b) vi. 14-42. *Solomon's Dedicatory Prayer.* The passage is again a close reproduction of the parallel passage in 1 Kings viii. 22-53, except at the close ; verses 40-42, however, differ entirely from the earlier record. Solomon stands before the altar with hands outstretched ; he proclaims Jehovah's fulfilment of His promise to David, pleads for continued blessing, and entreats God to ever turn a listening ear to prayers that rise in the Temple.

12. **he stood:** the usual, though not invariable, attitude of prayer : cf. Exod. ix. 29, and 2 Chron. vi. 13.

spread forth his hands: a common ancient accompaniment of prayer.

13. The whole verse is peculiar to our narrative. It describes the king's attitude in delivering the official dedicatory prayer from the brasen scaffold in the sight of the worshipping multitudes.

forth his hands toward heaven :) [H] and he said, O LORD, the God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in the heaven, or in the earth ; who keepest covenant and mercy with thy servants, that walk before thee with all their heart : who hast kept with thy servant David my father that which thou didst promise him : yea, thou spakest with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with thine hand, as it is this day. Now therefore, O LORD, the God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that which thou hast promised him, saying, There shall not fail thee a man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel ; if only thy children take heed to their way, to walk in my law as thou hast walked before me. Now therefore, O LORD, the God of Israel, let thy word be verified, which thou spakest unto thy servant David. But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth ? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee ; how much less this house which I have builded ! Yet have thou

14-17. Solomon acknowledges the fulfilment of the unconditioned portion of the divine promise, and prays that the conditional part may also be fulfilled. The kingdom has been established and the Temple built, but the blessing of God is essential for the future of the dynasty.

14. who keepest covenant: the attribute of a personal deity.
that walk before thee with all their heart: the phrase denotes utter sincerity.

16. in my law: a slight, but significant, variation from the original.

vi. 18-21. The king asks that the intercourse of prayer may be a genuine experience to his people.

18. dwell with men on the earth: Solomon gives utterance to the thought of the transcendence of the divine Being ; God is recognized as the omnipresent, personal Spirit ; and awe and wonder surround the fact that the Temple should be the trysting-place between the Deity and man.

heaven and the heaven of heavens: a phrase expressive of the immensity of God's dwelling-place.

respect unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication, O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer which thy servant prayeth before thee :
 20 that thine eyes may be open toward this house day and night, even toward the place whereof thou hast said that thou wouldest put thy name there ; to hearken unto the prayer which thy servant shall pray toward this place.
 21 And hearken thou to the supplications of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place : yea, hear thou from thy dwelling place, even
 22 from heaven ; and when thou hearest, forgive. If a man sin against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him to cause him to swear, and he come *and* swear before thine
 23 altar in this house : then hear thou from heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, requiting the wicked, to bring his way upon his own head ; and justifying the righteous,
 24 to give him according to his righteousness. And if thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee ; and shall turn again and

20. put thy name there. In Semitic usage the name stood for far more than a mere appellative ; indeed the expressions 'name,' 'face,' 'presence,' 'glory,' are interchangeable terms and practically denote Jehovah Himself. The term 'the Name' came, however, to be specially connected with the worship of Jehovah and with the Temple.

pray toward this place: i. e. in view of the reality of prayer, of which the Temple is the reminder and the pledge.

21. thy dwelling place, even . . . heaven: echoes the thought of verse 18.

when thou hearest, forgive: the two actions are rightly regarded as inseparable.

vi. 22-42. Solomon proceeds to plead for the divine response to particular cases of supplication.

22, 23. The first case is one of an *appeal to Jehovah* where no ordinary proof of innocence is obtainable : cf. Num. v. 5, &c.

24, 25. The next case is that of *military disaster* due to national sin. The reference to the Exile is only apparent, not real.

confess thy name, and pray and make supplication before thee in this house: then hear thou from heaven, and forgive ²⁵ the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest to them and to their fathers. When the heaven is shut up, and there is no ²⁶ rain, because they have sinned against thee; if they pray toward this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin, when thou dost afflict them: then hear thou in ²⁷ heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel, when thou teachest them the good way wherein they should walk; and send rain upon thy land, which thou hast given to thy people for an inheritance. If there be ²⁸ in the land famine, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting or mildew, locust or caterpillar; if their enemies besiege them in the land of their cities; whatsoever plague or whatsoever sickness there be; what prayer and sup- ²⁹ plication soever be made by any man, or by all thy people Israel, which shall know every man his own plague and his own sorrow, and shall spread forth his hands toward this house: then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling ³⁰ place, and forgive, and render unto every man according to all his ways, whose heart thou knowest: (for thou, even thou only, knowest the hearts of the children of men;) that they may fear thee, to walk in thy ways, so long as ³¹ they live in the land which thou gavest unto our fathers.

26, 27. The third case is that of *drought*.

when thou dost afflict: the text should be emended with LXX and 1 Kings, to read thus rather than 'because thou answerest them,' as R. V. marg.

vi. 28-31. *Further Cases of Trouble.*

28. in the land of their cities: Heb. 'gates'; LXX gives 'the enemy before their cities.' The true reading occurs in 1 Kings viii. 37.

29. every man his own plague: the phrase is meant to cover all calamities not yet specified.

32 Moreover concerning the stranger, that is not of thy
 people Israel, when he shall come from a far country for
 thy great name's sake, and thy mighty hand, and thy
 stretched out arm; when they shall come and pray
 33 toward this house: then hear thou from heaven, even
 from thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the
 stranger calleth to thee for; that all the peoples of the
 earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy
 people Israel, and that they may know that this house
 34 which I have built is called by thy name. If thy people
 go out to battle against their enemies, by whatsoever way
 thou shalt send them, and they pray unto thee toward
 this city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I
 35 have built for thy name: then hear thou from heaven
 their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their
 36 cause. If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that
 sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver
 them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captive
 37 unto a land far off or near; yet if they shall bethink
 themselves in the land whither they are carried captive,
 and turn again, and make supplication unto thee in the
 land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have
 38 done perversely, and have dealt wickedly; if they return
 unto thee with all their heart and with all their soul in the

vi. 32, 33. *The Case of the Naturalized Alien.*

33. called by thy name: literally 'thy name is called upon this house.'

vi. 34, 35. *Prayer for Military Triumph.* To discover here a reference to the post-exilic period is far-fetched. Solomon conceives the possible rather than reviews the actual.

34. toward this city: the custom of praying with the face towards Jerusalem was regarded by the chronicler as pre-exilic.

vi. 36-39. *Prayers of Captives.*

36. no man that sinneth not: the possibility of erring is recognized as inherently human.

land of their captivity, whither they have carried them captive, and pray toward their land, which thou gavest unto their fathers, and the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for thy name : then hear thou from heaven, even from thy dwelling place, 39 their prayer and their supplications, and maintain their cause ; and forgive thy people which have sinned against thee. Now, O my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be 40 open, and let thine ears be attent, unto the prayer that is made in this place. [Ch] Now therefore arise, O LORD 41 God, into thy resting place, thou, and the ark of thy strength : let thy priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness. O LORD 42 God, turn not away the face of thine anointed : remember the mercies of David thy servant.

Now when Solomon had made an end of praying, the ¶

40-43. The conclusion of Solomon's prayer differs entirely from that recorded in 1 Kings viii, where the prayer terminates with a reference to the close relation of the covenant people to Jehovah. This is appropriate enough ; but the curious differences between the Hebrew text and the LXX, in this passage, point to early uncertainties in the text. The concluding petitions, as given by the chronicler, bear the marks of originality. No more fitting close is possible than to take up the opening thought and plead with Jehovah to make the shrine His dwelling-place while remembering the pious deeds of David.

Verses 41, 42 are really a mutilated rendering of Ps. cxxxii. 8-10 ; but this affords no indication of authenticity, for it is still uncertain whether the Psalm is the original or the recension of our passage, while no agreement has been reached as to whether the Psalm is pre-exilic or post-exilic. On the whole the balance of proof favours the assumption that the chronicler has the original reading.

(c) vii. 1-10. *The Dedicatory Sacrifices.*

vii. 1-3. Immediately on the conclusion of Solomon's prayer Jehovah gave a visible proof of His favour. Fire descended from heaven and consumed the sacrifices, while the glory of the Lord filled the Temple. The priests were unable to enter the Temple,

fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the LORD
 2 filled the house. And the priests could not enter into the house of the LORD, because the glory of the LORD filled
 3 the LORD's house. And all the children of Israel looked on, when the fire came down, and the glory of the LORD was upon the house; and they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped, and gave thanks unto the LORD, *saying*, For
 4 he is good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever. [H] Then the king and all the people offered sacrifice before the
 5 LORD. And king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. So the king and all the people
 6 dedicated the house of God. [Ch] And the priests stood,

where the glory shone, but the multitudes without worshipped God in reverent act and in praise.

Attempts have been made to repudiate the genuineness of this passage on the grounds that it is not found in 1 Kings and that it contains certain inconsistencies. But whether the narrative be derived from the common source of Kings and Chronicles or only from tradition, it is in perfect harmony with the context, and may be credited. We hold, with Keil, that it was the dominantly prophetic interest of the author of Kings that led him to omit to mention this second confirmation of the divine acceptance of the Temple, while he gave prominence to the royal blessing that followed; whereas it was the eminently Levitic interest of the chronicler that led him to instance the renewed hallowing of the national sanctuary while passing over the blessing.

1. fire came down from heaven: fire was a common symbol of the divine presence. The presence of the cloud and the glory has already been mentioned in verses 13, 14; but we have here the fuller manifestation of Jehovah's favour.

vii. 4-10. After the descent of the fire from heaven, Solomon probably uttered the blessing upon the people given in 1 Kings viii. 54-61; and then the great festival terminated with sacrifices and worship.

5. dedicated the house of God: the rare word here used gives the title *Hännukkāh*, which is applied to the Feast of Dedications, of which the observance dates from the time of Judas Maccabaeus.

according to their offices; the Levites also with instruments of music of the LORD, which David the king had made to give thanks unto the LORD, for his mercy *endureth* for ever, when David praised by their ministry: and the priests sounded trumpets before them; and all Israel stood. [H] Moreover Solomon hallowed the ⁷ middle of the court that was before the house of the LORD; for there he offered the burnt offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings: because the brasen altar which Solomon had made was not able to receive the burnt offering, and the meal offering, and the fat. So Solomon ⁸ held the feast at that time seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto the brook of Egypt. And on the eighth ⁹ day they held a solemn assembly: for they kept the

6. This verse is peculiar to the chronicler, and has been added in perfect harmony with his consuming interest in questions of Levitic ritual. It describes how the dedicatory sacrifices were followed by a service of song.

7. **Solomon hallowed the middle of the court.** The vastness of the offerings necessitated the temporary setting apart of a whole section of the court for the use of the sacrificing priests, seeing that the brazen altar was inadequate. Two kinds of sacrifices are singled out for mention—the **burnt offering**, which was the sacrifice of the entire animal, and the **peace offering**, which was limited to the burning of the fat. The meal offering is omitted: cf. 1 Kings viii. 64.

8. **held the feast:** cf. note on verse 3.

seven days: this is evidently correct. The author of Kings has so confused his narrative as to make it fourteen days.

the entering in of Hamath: cf. note on 1 Chron. xiii. 5.

the brook of Egypt: i.e. the Wady-el-Arish, about fifty miles south-west of Gaza; it formed the traditional southern limit of Hebrew territory.

9. **on the eighth day.** The duration of the dedication festival is in accord with the custom prevailing in the period reflected in Lev. xxiii. 36 (which is usually regarded as post-exilic), and departs from the regulations of Deut. xvi. 13-15 (which refer to

dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven
 10 days. And on the three and twentieth day of the seventh
 month he sent the people away unto their tents, joyful
 and glad of heart for the goodness that the LORD had
 shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel his
 people.

11 Thus Solomon finished the house of the LORD, and
 the king's house: and all that came into Solomon's heart
 to make in the house of the LORD, and in his own house,
 12 he prosperously effected. And the LORD appeared to
 Solomon by night, and said unto him, I have heard thy
 prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house
 13 of sacrifice. [Ch] If I shut up heaven that there be no
 rain, or if I command the locust to devour the land, or if
 14 I send pestilence among my people; if my people, which
 are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and

the pre-exilic days). On the eighth day the people, instead of
 departing to their homes, hold a solemn festival.

10. on the three and twentieth day: in accordance with
 verse 9 the people only return home after the completion of the
 eight days' festival.

(d) vii. 11-22. *The Divine Response.* In the night following the
 conclusion of the festival Jehovah appeared a second time to
 Solomon in a dream, and assured him that his prayer should be
 answered. The chronicler found the material for this narrative
 in 1 Kings viii. 1-9, where it forms a sequel to the events which
 precede it. It is full of Deuteronomic expressions, and was,
 therefore, probably put into its present linguistic form by a post-
 exilic writer. To attribute the closing verses, however, to a later
 editor, who wished to explain the overthrow of Jerusalem, is
 unwarrantable, unless one is prepared to repudiate a divine
 guidance in history.

12. by night: presumably in a dream.

The section from verse 12^b, 'and have chosen this place,' to
 verse 16^a, is an insertion of the chronicler's. It summarizes the
 royal petitions of the prayer of dedication and promises an answer
 to them on the condition already mentioned to Solomon. The
 narrative of 1 Kings viii is resumed at verse 16.

pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways ; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land. Now mine eyes shall be open, 15 and mine ears attent, unto the prayer that is made in this place. [H] For now have I chosen and hallowed this house, 16 that my name may be there for ever : and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually. And as for thee, 17 if thou wilt walk before me as David thy father walked, and do according to all that I have commanded thee, and wilt keep my statutes and my judgements ; then I 18 will establish the throne of thy kingdom, according as I covenanted with David thy father, saying, There shall not fail thee a man to be ruler in Israel. But if ye turn away, 19 and forsake my statutes and my commandments which I have set before you, and shall go and serve other gods, and worship them : then will I pluck them up by the roots 20 out of my land which I have given them ; and this house, which I have hallowed for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and I will make it a proverb and a byword among all peoples. And this house, which is so high, every one 21 that passeth by it shall be astonished, and shall say, Why hath the LORD done thus unto this land, and to this

17, 18. Jehovah renews His promise to establish the dynasty so long as it remains loyal to Him.

19, 20. The change from the singular 'thou' of the preceding verses to the plural 'you' and 'them' in these two verses is remarkable. A solemn warning is given as to the inevitable results of indulging the fatal tendency of the people to idolatry. It is not improbable that Solomon had already begun to manifest laxity in this respect through his marriage alliances.

21. this house, which is so high: this reading is preferable to the parallel reading in 1 Kings ix. 8.

shall be astonished: the inevitable results of disloyalty to Jehovah should cause amazement among the heathen. The thought of verses 21, 22 is closely parallel to Deut. xxix. 24-29, and is frequently found in the later prophets.

22 house? And they shall answer, Because they forsook the LORD, the God of their fathers, which brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

8 And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the house of the LORD, [Ch] and his
2 own house, that the cities which Hiram had given to Solomon, Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there.

(5) viii. *Imperial Organization.*

The outstanding achievement of Solomon's reign was undoubtedly the building of the Temple; hence the chronicler, even apart from his pronounced leaning to Levitical interests, would naturally devote his main space to the details of its construction and dedication. In the present chapter he follows the author of 1 Kings (cf. 1 Kings ix, x-xi, xvii-xxviii), grouping together various facts concerning matters of imperial organization. These facts were probably extracted by the earlier historian from the annals of Solomon, and have been edited by the author of Chronicles in a way which implies the accessibility of other sources of information.

viii. 1-6. *Fortification of Certain Cities.*

1. at the end of twenty years: the construction of the Temple occupied seven years, that of the royal palace thirteen years (cf. 1 Kings vi. 38, vii. 1).

2. the cities which Hiram had given to Solomon: we have no record elsewhere of a gift of cities made by Hiram (i.e. Hiram) to Solomon, although there is no reason why such a gift should not have been a part of the friendly relationship of these monarchs. But the remarkable fact to notice here is that the parallel passage in 1 Kings ix. 11 speaks of Solomon as giving 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee' to Hiram, and that the context, while describing Hiram's discontent with the ceded cities, states that Hiram sent to Solomon a sum of sixty talents of gold upon their receipt. Unless the chronicler's words refer to an instance of which we know nothing, he has mistaken and misrepresented a transaction in which Solomon parted with a tract of unimportant territory for a monetary consideration; and such a misrepresentation is readily explained by the chronicler's exaggerated estimate of the golden days of his country's history.

And Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and prevailed ³
 against it. [H] And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, ⁴
 and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath. Also ⁵
 he built Beth-horon the upper, and Beth-horon the
 nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars; and ⁶
 Baalath, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and
 all the cities for his chariots, and the cities for his horse-
 men, and all that Solomon desired to build for his pleasure
 in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his
 dominion. As for all the people that were left of the ⁷
 Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the

3. Hamath-zobah: Zobah is a state of undiscovered site, but it probably lay in the neighbourhood of Emesa, between Damascus and Hamath. In Assyrian inscriptions the city is called Subutu: cf. note on 1 Chron. xviii. 4 and 9. There is reason to doubt the integrity of the text in this place, and considerable obscurity hangs over its reference to Solomon's campaign against Hamath-zobah (or Hamath-of-Zobah).

4. Tadmor in the wilderness: Tadmur is the modern name of the great city between Damascus and the Euphrates known to the Greeks as Palmyra, and this city existed in the days of the chronicler, but not in Solomon's time. Evidently the chronicler misread the text of his original and thought Tadmur was alluded to. But the whole context applies to cities of Judah (cf. verse 5), and a reference to 1 Kings ix. 18 shows that the original read 'Tamar in the wilderness,' i. e. a border town of Judah lying somewhere near the south-west extremity of the Dead Sea.

store cities, which he built in Hamath: the name of the northern Aramaean state has probably crept in owing to the error in verse 4, and should be corrected by 1 Kings ix. 19.

5. Beth-horon. Solomon fortified these twin cities on the great northern route from Jerusalem to its port of Joppa: cf. note on 1 Chron. vii. 24.

6. Baalath: an unknown city.

in Lebanon: we have no information of Solomon's possessions in Lebanon. They must have been connected with his timber-cutting or mining operations.

viii. 7-11. *Solomon's Forced Labour.* The statement of verse 7 is abruptly introduced. It declares that forced labour was exacted from the alien Canaanitish remnants, whereas the liberties of the

- 8 Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; of their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not, of them did Solomon
 9 raise a levy of *bondservants*, unto this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work; but they were men of war, and chief of his captains,
 10 and rulers of his chariots and of his horsemen. And these were the chief officers of king Solomon, even two hundred and fifty, that bare rule over the people.
 11 [Ch] And Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the LORD hath come.
 12 [Ch²] Then Solomon offered burnt offerings unto the

Hebrews were duly respected. The accuracy of this statement only holds good for a limited period, for we read in 1 Kings v. 13 and xii. 4 that forced labour was also demanded of Israelites.

8. whom the children of Israel consumed not: a quite characteristic softening of the phrase of the original, 'whom the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy.'

raise a levy: i. e. bands of compulsory labourers.

unto this day: the author was reading back from his own day, when forced labour was demanded of none but aliens, and is noting how such labour originated under Solomon.

9. chief of his captains: read, with LXX and 1 Kings, 'his princes and his captains.' The posts of honour, mainly military, were assigned to Israelites. The word used for 'captain' literally means 'the third man,' and seems to have come into use from the fact that the chariot carried a driver and a combatant in addition to the 'captain.'

10. two hundred and fifty: 1 Kings gives 550.

11. Solomon's preparation of a separate house for his Egyptian consort from a religious scruple as to the legitimacy of her residence in the precincts of the Temple mount, now hallowed by the Ark, is even more abruptly introduced than in 1 Kings, seeing that the chronicler has nowhere mentioned the king's Egyptian marriage.

viii. 12-16. *Annual Sacrifices.* Our author has largely amplified

LORD on the altar of the LORD, which he had built before the porch, even as the duty of every day required, ¹³ offering according to the commandment of Moses, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the set feasts, three times in the year, *even* in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles. [Ch] And he appointed, according to the ¹⁴ ordinance of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise, and to minister before the priests, as the duty of every day required: the doorkeepers also by their courses at every gate: for so had David the man of God commanded. And they departed not from the commandment of the ¹⁵ king unto the priests and Levites concerning any matter, or concerning the treasures. Now all the work of ¹⁶ Solomon was prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the LORD, and until it was finished. So the house of the LORD was perfected.

[H] Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth, ¹⁷

the brief statement of 1 Kings ix. 25, giving such details of the royal sacrifices as display a close familiarity with the Deuteronomic requirements: cf. Lev. xxiii. 37.

viii. 12, 13. The great religious festivals and the daily sacrifices were all duly ordered.

12. the altar of the LORD: mentioned here for the first time as being built by Solomon.

viii. 14-16. The Temple service was established upon the lines already determined by David: cf. 1 Chron. xxiii-xxvi.

16. unto the day of the foundation: read 'from the day . . . ' with LXX, Vulg., Syriac.

viii. 17-18. *The Expedition to Ophir*. The friendship of Solomon's Tyrian ally, Hiram, was displayed on sea as well as on land. By the aid of his shipwrights and seamen Solomon was able to construct a fleet which traded with the land of Ophir and brought thence a vast sum of the famous gold.

17, Ezion-geber: a town of undetermined site. Probably it

18 on the sea shore in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent him by the hands of his servants ships, and servants that had knowledge of the sea; and they came with the servants of Solomon to Ophir, and fetched from thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon.

■ And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame

should be identified with 'Ain-el-Ghudyan, a spot now fifteen miles inland above the head of the Red Sea. The constant filling up of the coast-line by the alluvial river-deposits makes this position credible. In Solomon's day it was a port of some importance. Near by lay **Eloth**, the modern 'Akābā. It is situated at the head of the north-east arm of the Red Sea. These ports are said to have been situated **in the land of Edom**, which at that time was insecurely held by Solomon (cf. 1 Kings xi), although he evidently had a firm hold of the great trade-route between the capital and the southern ports.

18. Ophir: according to the most probable theory (that of Glaser) Ophir lay on the east coast of Arabia, where there was an ancient gold-producing district. The return voyage around the entire peninsula of Arabia undoubtedly would require the three years allotted thereto in 1 Kings.

four hundred and fifty talents: over two and a half millions sterling.

(6) ix. *The Queen of Sheba and Solomon's Wealth.*

(a) ix. 1-12. *Visit of the Queen of Sheba.* The chronicler observes a perfectly natural sequence, as does his earlier authority (1 Kings x. 1-13), in proceeding from the narrative of Solomon's power, his building achievements, and his imperial revenue, to an account of his magnificence and far-spread renown. Hence he introduces here a remarkable illustration of his fame. The queen of Sheba, doubtless bound to the Hebrew monarch by strong commercial interests, visits the king in his capital. Her express desire is to learn the truth of the reports concerning his wisdom, but we may surmise that political and commercial considerations were not absent. This is all the more probable if the connexion between Sheba and Ophir be such as it has been held to be (cf. note on verse 1).

1. the queen of Sheba. In his recent researches into the history and geography of Arabia, Glaser has made discoveries which seem to establish the belief that Sheba had very important connexions with the eastern Arabian goldfields of Ophir (cf. Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 357 ff.). To reach Ophir Solomon's fleet must

of Solomon, she came to prove Solomon with hard questions at Jerusalem, with a very great train, and camels that bare spices, and gold in abundance, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions: and there was ² not any thing hid from Solomon which he told her not. And when the queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of ³ Solomon, and the house that he had built, and the meat ⁴ of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report ⁵

have sailed round the south-west of Arabia, where lay the great commercial power of Sheba. There are still extensive early ruins at Marib, the ancient capital, but excavations have hitherto been impossible owing to the unsettled nature of the interior. Of its early history little is known. It certainly flourished by 1000 B.C., and about 550 B.C. its priest-kings attained to the dominant power in Arabia by overthrowing the early Minean kingdom, which extended as far as Edom and Media (cf. Hilpricht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*).

with hard questions: i. e. problems and catch-questions—a display of Oriental quickness of thought and dialectic is meant.

with a very great train: her retinue was a fitting proof of the greatness of her empire, and all the natural products of south-west Arabia were brought in abundance.

2. there was not any thing hid from Solomon: the king proved able to meet all tests of his wisdom.

4. the sitting of his servants: probably refers to the mess of the royal household.

the attendance of his ministers: i. e. the ability of the court functionaries.

his ascent: the Hebrew text has 'his upper chambers,' but one must read 'his ascent' with 1 Kings, LXX, Vulg., and Syr.

there was no more spirit in her: i. e. she was overwhelmed with amazement and admiration.

5, 6. The queen of Sheba declares that Solomon's greatness and wisdom exceeded all that report had told.

that I heard in mine own land of thine acts, and of thy
 6 wisdom. Howbeit I believed not their words, until I
 came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half
 of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me: thou
 7 exceedest the fame that I heard. Happy are thy men,
 and happy are these thy servants, which stand continually
 8 before thee, and hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the LORD
 thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on his
 throne, to be king for the LORD thy God: because thy
 God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore
 made he thee king over them, to do judgement and
 9 justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty
 talents of gold, and spices in great abundance, and
 precious stones: neither was there any such spice as the
 10 queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon. And the servants
 also of Hiram, and the servants of Solomon, which
 brought gold from Ophir, brought alghum trees and
 11 precious stones. And the king made of the alghum
 trees terraces for the house of the LORD, and for the
 king's house, and harps and psalteries for the singers:
 and there were none such seen before in the land of
 12 Judah. And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba
 all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which
 she had brought unto the king. So she turned, and
 went to her own land, she and her servants.

8. on his throne, to be king for the LORD thy God: an expansion due to the chronicler.

9. The queen's gifts were on a scale of Oriental magnificence, the gold alone being equal to seven and a half millions sterling.

ix. 10, 11. These verses occupy the same position as in 1 Kings, but they are evidently misplaced: a natural sequence would have placed them at the close of ch. viii.

10. alghum trees: cf. note on 2 Chron. ii. 8.

11. terraces: 1 Kings x. 12 reads 'pillars.'

12. beside that which she had brought unto the king: this

Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one ¹³ year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of gold; beside that which the chapmen and merchants ¹⁴ brought; and all the kings of Arabia and the governors of the country brought gold and silver to Solomon. And ¹⁵ king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold: six hundred *shekels* of beaten gold went to one target. And *he made* three hundred shields of beaten gold; three ¹⁶ hundred *shekels* of gold went to one shield: and the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

can scarcely be correct; 1 Kings reads 'beside that which Solomon gave her.'

(b) ix. 13-21. *The Imperial Exchequer.* The narrative concerning the imperial revenue which closes ch. viii is now taken up again. It follows 1 Kings x. 14-22.

13. in one year: it can scarcely be implied that the enormous sum of £4,100,000, as an annual income in gold alone, represents the average maintained throughout Solomon's reign.

14. chapmen: the text is admittedly corrupt. The word rendered 'chapmen' literally means 'spies.' The rendering of the LXX, the 'overseers,' is evidently due to an attempt to make the best of an unintelligible phrase. Kittel would read 'cities' with the Syriac and render 'besides that which the cities and the merchants brought.'

all the kings of Arabia: after the example of the queen of Sheba—or possibly as the result of the suzerainty of Solomon.

governors: LXX renders 'satraps.'

ix. 15, 16. *The Golden Shields.* These were merely ornamental shields for use on occasions of royal display (cf. xii. 11).

The **target** was the full-length shield and was about four times the size of the small round **shield**. The amount of gold to a shield (300 shekels) is stated in 1 Kings to have been 'three pound,' i. e. 150 or 180 shekels, which is more likely to be correct.

16. the house of the forest of Lebanon: a great hall in the royal palace of Solomon. It was evidently used as an armoury. The number of pillars of cedar-wood used in its construction led to its popular designation. It is approximately described in 1 Kings vii. 2-5, where the dimensions are given as 175 × 88 × 53 feet. The roof seems to have rested upon three rows of fifteen pillars.

17 Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and
 18 overlaid it with pure gold. And there were six steps to
 the throne, with a footstool of gold, which were fastened
 to the throne, and stays on either side by the place of
 19 the seat, and two lions standing beside the stays. And
 twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other
 upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any
 20 kingdom. And all king Solomon's drinking vessels were
 of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of
 Lebanon were of pure gold: silver was nothing accounted
 21 of in the days of Solomon. For the king had ships that
 went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram: once
 every three years came the ships of Tarshish, bringing

ix. 17-19. *The Ivory Throne.* The ivory and gold were probably used for veneering and plating the throne; they do not necessarily represent the solid substance of the structure.

18. **a footstool of gold, . . . fastened to the throne:** the Hebrew word for 'footstool' (כִּבְשֵׁת, *kebēsh*) was almost certainly in the original 'lamb' (כֶּבֶשׂ, *kēbēs*). This original, 'lamb,' seems to have been a scribe's substitute for an earlier reading, 'calf' (עֵגֶל, *'ēgel*), which he altered through a dislike to the heathen symbolism of the calf. Probably 'calf' originally stood in the parallel passage in 1 Kings x. 19, as it, indeed, still does in the LXX of that passage; but through a similar dislike some early scribe changed it to 'round' (עֵגוֹל, *'āgōl*), giving the reading 'the top of the throne was round behind.' When the word 'calf' had passed through this series of changes into 'footstool,' then other words had to be changed to suit the context.

stays: the form was that of an armchair.

ix. 20, 21. *Further Imperial Commerce.*

20. **silver was nothing accounted of:** the abundance of gold led to the depreciation of silver.

21. **ships that went to Tarshish:** the apparent meaning is that this fleet made a triennial voyage to Tartessus, an ancient Spanish town on the Guadalquiver. This meaning cannot be got out of 1 Kings x. 22, which simply speaks of 'Tarshish ships,' i. e. a sea-going fleet such as the Phoenicians used for their voyages to Tarshish. The narrative of 1 Kings has reference to the expeditions to Ophir, and the chronicler may have mistaken the meaning. The merchandise brought by the fleet, 'gold, and silver,

gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks. So king 22
 Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth in riches
 and wisdom. And all the kings of the earth sought the 23
 presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God
 had put in his heart. And they brought every man his 24
 present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment,
 armour, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by
 year. [Ch²] And Solomon had four thousand stalls for 25
 horses and chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen,
 which he bestowed in the chariot cities, and with the
 king at Jerusalem. And he ruled over all the kings 26
 from the River even unto the land of the Philistines, and
 to the border of Egypt. [H] And the king made silver 27
 to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be
 as the sycomore trees that are in the lowland, for abun-
 dance. And they brought horses for Solomon out of 28
 Egypt, and out of all lands.

[Ch²] Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and 29

ivory, and apes, and peacocks,' is the produce of Arabia, not Africa, and would be the natural freight of the Ophir fleet, and quite as unnatural a freight from Spain. For 'ivory' the LXX reads 'ivory teeth.'

(c) ix. 22-28. *Imperial Magnificence.* The empire of Solomon's reign of peace is here stated to have been world-wide. All rulers bring tribute to the Hebrew monarch, whose majesty and wisdom are famed throughout all lands and whose reign was one of ceaseless progress, unbroken by the clash of arms.

25. four thousand stalls for horses and chariots: the divergence from 1 Kings x. 26 should be noted. Moreover, we seem to have here a doublet to 2 Chron. i. 14 ff., although due to a later source.

26. from the River: i.e. the Euphrates.

27. in the lowland: i.e. the Shephēlah: cf. note on 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

28. out of Egypt: cf. notes on ■ Chron. i. 16, 17.

(d) ix. 29-31. *Summary of Solomon's Reign.*

29. For the sources referred to cf. Introd. § iv.

last, are they not written in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat? [H] And Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel forty years. And Solomon slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead. 10 And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were

30-31. The passage is taken from 1 Kings xi. 42, 43. The chronicler omits the account of Solomon's idolatries and political upheavals which occupies 1 Kings xi, and represents the reign as one of undimmed splendour ending in a blaze of glory. This is in perfect harmony with his eclectic aims.

FOURTH PART

x-xxxvi. History of Judah from Solomon to the Captivity.

THE fourth section of the Book of the Chronicles comprises 2 Chron. x-xxxvi. It is concerned with the history of the southern kingdom from the death of Solomon to the Captivity. The annals of the kings of Judah are given with much greater fullness than in the Book of Kings, where the history of both kingdoms is narrated. Of the events which transpired under the earlier kings, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, the narrative of the Chronicles is specially full. And, throughout, the chronicler is at pains to show how the exigencies of the national fortunes were connected with the national attitude towards Jehovah. Fidelity to the law of God leads to prosperity and victory, whereas a lapse into apostasy leads to failure and defeat. As the narrative proceeds we see the people given over so utterly to idolatry under Ahaz and Manasseh that pious efforts such as those of Hezekiah and Josiah fail to recall them to their earlier fidelity to Jehovah, and the inevitable results follow in the great Exile. The curtain falls on Judah's national independence, with the triumph of Chaldaea.

(1) x. *The Revolt of the Northern Tribes.*

The narrative of the disruption of the kingdom has been taken, with very little alteration, from the same source as 1 Kings xii. 1-19. It is cast in vivid and dramatic language. A national assembly has been convened to confirm the title of Solomon's successor. During the proceedings spokesmen of the people are put forward to ask for the abolition of forced labour. The heir

come to Shechem to make him king. And it came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard of it, (for he was in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of king Solomon,) that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt.

to the throne promises to reply in three days. When he again meets the popular representatives, it is to answer them according to the mad counsel of his young companions, in direct opposition to the advice of the elder statesmen. This autocratic contempt of the popular demand is followed by the immediate revolt of the northern tribes. The official taskmaster is stoned, the king compelled to save his life in flight, and Jeroboam elected to the kingship of the northern confederacy. It is the house of Judah alone that remains loyal to David's line.

It is at this point that the chronicler and the author of 1 Kings diverge. The earlier historian displays a certain sympathy with the northern tribesmen, or at least expresses no strong disapproval of the schism. But the chronicler, himself a Levite, and living centuries after the obliteration of Israel as a nation, views the revolt from the standpoint of its final issues. To him the northern tribesmen were apostates from the will and from the worship of Jehovah, rejected and destroyed for that apostasy. The historic purpose of God had, nevertheless, not fallen to the ground; it had worked itself out through the southern tribesmen with a persistency which not even the Exile could withstand. Hence an historian to whom the divine purpose in history was the permanent consideration must limit his writings to the record of the experiences of loyal Judah and the vicissitudes of its history. This is why the northern kings are ignored after Jeroboam has been contemptuously dismissed, and all interest henceforth centres in the Davidic monarchy.

1. Rehoboam: his reign should be dated 932-916 B. C. The new monarch was arrogant and headstrong, but at the same time he lacked energy and was fundamentally weak.

Shechem: the modern Nablous, on the north-east slopes of Mount Gerizim. From early days it was regarded as a sanctuary and was of great political importance. Lying at the junction of several great trade-routes, it is to-day a busy town of 20,000 inhabitants. As the chief sanctuary of the northern tribes it was thither that the national assembly, 'all Israel,' was summoned for the coronation of Rehoboam.

2. Jeroboam the son of Nebat: Jeroboam is described as an Ephraimite of the house of Nebat. He early gave proof of his unique ability and rose to an important position in Solomon's civil administration. But resenting, probably, the royal despotism, and

- 3 And they sent and called him; and Jeroboam and all
 4 Israel came, and they spake to Rehoboam, saying, Thy
 father made our yoke grievous : now therefore make thou
 the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke
 which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee.
 5 And he said unto them, Come again unto me after three
 6 days. And the people departed. And king Rehoboam
 took counsel with the old men, that had stood before
 Solomon his father while he yet lived, saying, What
 counsel give ye me to return answer to this people?
 7 And they spake unto him, saying, If thou be kind to
 this people, and please them, and speak good words to
 8 them, then they will be thy servants for ever. But he
 forsook the counsel of the old men which they had given
 him, and took counsel with the young men that were
 9 grown up with him, that stood before him. And he said
 unto them, What counsel give ye, that we may return
 answer to this people, who have spoken to me, saying,

desirous of personal advancement, he had incurred Solomon's displeasure and had fled for asylum to Shishak, king of Egypt. Already his ambitions had been kindled by an interview with the prophet Ahijah; and on Solomon's death, seeing his chance, he returned to champion the people in their demand for freedom from forced labour.

4. the grievous service of thy father: evidently Solomon's ambitious architectural schemes had weighed heavily on the people of Israel as well as upon the alien population. The deputation merely requested that their obligations should be lightened instead of the nation being ground down in the interests of an inflated imperialism.

5. three days: Rehoboam asked for time to consider a matter of such national importance.

6. counsel with the old men: Solomon's tried councillors advised a diplomatic answer which should appease the popular agitation and secure the royal power.

8. the young men: i. e. companions of his own age, younger princes, who were of an overweening and imperious spirit, and who advised him to treat the people with scorn.

Make the yoke that thy father did put upon us lighter? And the young men that were grown up with him spake ¹⁰ unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto the people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger is thicker than my father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a ¹¹ heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions. So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the ¹² third day, as the king bade, saying, Come to me again ¹³ the third day. And the king answered them roughly; ¹³ and king Rehoboam forsook the counsel of the old men, and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, ¹⁴ saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add thereto: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions. So the king hearkened not ¹⁵ unto the people; for it was brought about of God, that the LORD might establish his word, which he spake by the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son of Nebat. And when all Israel saw that the king ¹⁶ hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have

11. I will chastise you with scorpions: a symbol for the severest discipline; the word suggests an instrument of flagellation.

12-14. Rehoboam answers the deputation according to the haughty advice of the younger councillors.

15. it was brought about of God: by the Hebrew mind there was little account taken of second causes. The guiding hand of God was seen in all things and the problem of the origin of evil was tacitly ignored.

Ahijah the Shilonite: Ahijah, a native of Shiloh (the modern Seilun, near Bethel), appeared before Jeroboam in the capacity of a prophet and foretold his future eminence. The incident is not recorded by the chronicler, but cf. 1 Kings xi. 26-40.

16. What portion have we in David? The popular response

- we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David.
- 17 So all Israel departed unto their tents. But as for the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah,
- 18 Rehoboam reigned over them. Then king Rehoboam sent Hadoram, who was over the levy; and the children of Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. And king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot,
- 19 to flee to Jerusalem. So Israel rebelled against the house of David, unto this day.
- 11 And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he

was a defiance of the authority of Rehoboam; yet, coupled with it, there was the determination to effect a peaceful revolution.

to your tents, O Israel: i.e. 'break up the national assembly.' The cry of dismissal is in poetic form and displays the invariable parallelism of Hebrew metre:—

'What have we of portion in David!
 Yea, no inheritance in the son of Jesse!
 To thy tents, O Israel!
 Now, see to thine house, O David!'

18. Hadoram, who was over the levy: the folly of sending an official so naturally unpopular is manifest. The people are infuriated by his arrival and stone him to death. The king himself with difficulty escapes.

19. unto this day: here the phrase is not an anachronism. The revolt was final and absolute, little less than a catastrophe for the royal line of David.

(2) xi-xii. *Rehoboam's Reign.*

The chronicler makes no attempt to give a chronological account of the reign of Rehoboam. He merely groups the incidents of the period, arranging them primarily with a view to their religious significance. The material is in the main distinct from that of 1 Kings, from which he merely borrows xii. 22-24 and xiv. 25-31, adding much original matter. He relates the preparation of Rehoboam to recover control of the revolted tribes by force of arms and the abandonment of the attempt at the bidding of the prophet Shemaiah. He shows us that the rule of Jeroboam was by no means unanimously accepted by the northern tribesmen, of whom many migrated to Judah. He also describes Rehoboam's settle-

assembled the house of Judah and Benjamin, an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against Israel, to bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam. But the word of the LORD came to She-²maiah the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam³ the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Ye⁴ shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren: return every man to his house; for this thing is of me. So they hearkened unto the words of the LORD, and returned from going against Jeroboam. [Ch] And Rehoboam⁵ dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah.

ment of the affairs of the kingdom, his lapse into idolatry, and his punishment by means of the Egyptian invasion.

xi. 1-4. *A Prophet averts Civil War.* Rehoboam immediately musters the full fighting force of the southern kingdom to reduce Jeroboam; but civil war is temporarily averted by the message of Shemaiah. There was, however, only a brief period of peace, as we gather from the statement of xii. 15 that 'there were wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually.'

1. Judah and Benjamin: at the moment of disruption only Judah stood loyal to Rehoboam (cf. 1 Kings xii. 20); but either Benjamin threw in its lot with the southern kingdom very soon or else we have here a post-exilic record of the ultimate fusion of Benjamin with Judah.

2. Shemaiah: a prophet who performed his ministrations throughout the reign of Rehoboam. Here we find him preventing civil war. In xii. 5-7 he delivers Jehovah's message regarding the invasion of Shishak. And in xii. 15 he is named as the royal historian or annalist.

4. this thing is of me: i. e. as a chastisement for the apostasy of Solomon and the arrogance of Rehoboam.

xi. 5-12. *National Fortifications.* In view of the unsettled state of the southern kingdom and of the threatening attitude which Egypt seems to have adopted throughout his reign, Rehoboam built fifteen fortress cities for the defence of his country. As these cities lay either on the main roads from Jerusalem to Egypt or on the western hills of the Judean Shephelah, and none of them upon the northern frontier of Judah, they were evidently fortified in view of the dangers from Egypt and not against northern Israel.

6,7 He built even Beth-lehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, and
 8 Beth-zur, and Soco, and Adullam, and Gath, and Mare-
 9 shah, and Ziph, and Adoraim, and Lachish, and Azekah,
 10 and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron, which are in Judah

6. Beth-lehem: a small town in the Judean uplands five miles south-west of Jerusalem, now called Beit-lāhm. Rehoboam added its fortifications.

Etam: a town which seems to have been situated near Solomon's famous gardens, about one hour south of Beth-lehem; it is probably the modern 'Ain 'Aṭān.

Tekoa: on a lofty hill, two hours south of Beth-lehem, bordering on the wilderness.

7. Beth-zur: the modern Bēt-Šūr, four and a half miles north of Hebron, occupies an important strategic position on the high road from Hebron to Jerusalem.

Soco: in the Shephēlah, now represented by certain ruins known as esh-Shuweikeh.

Adullam: probably the modern 'Id-el-Mā in the east Shephēlah, three miles south-east of Soco. Extensive ancient ruins occupy the hillside, and caves exist near the summit.

8. Gath: the site of the ancient Philistine city of this name has not yet been identified. Probably the chronicler does not actually allude to this city, or if he does so it may be by error, for the Philistine Gath had its own Philistine king under Solomon (1 Kings ii. 39), and it was still Philistine in the days of Uzziah.

Mareshah: the Marissa of Josephus, in the Shephēlah of Judah, not far from Eleutheropolis (Beit-Jibrīn). It was the birthplace of the prophet Micah.

Ziph: identified with Tell-Zif, eight miles south-east of Hebron, in the Judean Shephēlah.

9. Adoraim: the modern Dūra, five miles south-west of Hebron.

Lachish: on a site now called Tell-el-Hesy, where excavations, commenced by Flinders Petrie in 1890, reveal an ancient and extensive city of Amorite origin. It is twelve miles from Eleutheropolis in the Shephēlah and is the furthest city in the direction of Egypt fortified by Rehoboam.

Azekah: another town in the Shephēlah, possibly represented by Bir-ez-Zağ, north of Soco.

10. Zorah: if the town in the Shephēlah be meant, it is the modern Šar'a, near Beth-shemesh, fourteen miles west of Jerusalem; but some site in the Negeb may possibly be intended, as no southern fortresses have yet been named.

Aijalon: the modern Yālō, on the edge of the valley, the

and in Benjamin, fenced cities. And he fortified the strong holds, and put captains in them, and store of victual, and oil and wine. And in every several city *he put* shields and spears, and made them exceeding strong. And Judah and Benjamin belonged to him. And the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him out of all their border. For the Levites left their suburbs and their possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons cast them off, that they should not execute the priest's office unto the LORD: and he appointed him priests for the high places, and for the he-goats, and for the calves which he had made. And after them, out of all the

Merj-Ibn-'Umar, five miles from the lower Beth-horon and fourteen from Jerusalem.

Hebron: the modern el-Halil, on the uplands midway between Jerusalem and Beer-sheba.

xi. 13-17. *Immigrants from Northern Israel.*

13. the priests and the Levites: the chronicler naturally emphasizes the loyalty of his own order to Jehovah and the Temple.

14. for Jeroboam and his sons cast them off: Jeroboam had erected his own sanctuaries for northern Israel, fearing for their loyalty in case they should visit the legitimate sanctuary at Jerusalem, and had placed the emblematic calves in Beth-el and Dan as symbols of Jehovah. At these shrines he appointed non-Levitic priests; hence the priestly migration to Jerusalem followed. The northern kingdom never recovered from this apostasy.

15. the high places: the illegitimate shrines erected on the hills according to Canaanitish custom.

for the he-goats: A. V. 'for the devils'; cf. Lev. xvii. 7. This significance of the word is due to contact with Egypt, where the worship of the sacred goat was prevalent.

for the calves: these were intended to be symbolic of Jehovah; cf. Exod. xxxii. 4.

16. after them: following the example of the Levites, numbers of the northern clansmen migrated to the southern kingdom owing to religious causes.

tribes of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the LORD, the God of Israel, came to Jerusalem to sacrifice unto
 17 the LORD, the God of their fathers. So they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of Solomon strong, three years : for they walked three years
 18 in the way of David and Solomon. And Rehoboam took him a wife, Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David, *and of Abihail* the daughter of Eliab the
 19 son of Jesse ; and she bare him sons ; Jeush, and She-
 20 mariah, and Zaham. And after her he took Maacah the daughter of Absalom ; and she bare him Abijah, and
 21 Attai, and Ziza, and Shelomith. And Rehoboam loved Maacah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and his concubines : (for he took eighteen wives, and threescore concubines, and begat twenty and eight sons
 22 and threescore daughters.) And Rehoboam appointed Abijah the son of Maacah to be chief, *even* the prince among his brethren : for *he was minded* to make him
 23 king. And he dealt wisely, and dispersed of all his

17. they strengthened the kingdom . . . three years : the indignation of the immigrants against Jeroboam's innovations only lasted for three years, and then their own loyalty to Jehovah failed.

xi. 18-23. *The Royal Family.*

18. the daughter of Jerimoth : so LXX, Vulg., &c., correctly. But the Hebrew text has 'son of Jerimoth.' Probably we have here another form of the name Ithream ; otherwise Jerimoth must be a son of one of David's concubines. With LXX and Vulg. we must insert the conjunction before 'Abihail' and read the name as that of the mother of Mahalath.

20. Maacah the daughter of Absalom : i.e. the granddaughter ; cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 27. She must have been a daughter of Tamar, who married Uriel of Gibeah. Cf. 1 Kings xv. ■ and 2 Chron. xiii. 2. Her eldest son, Abijah, who succeeded to the throne, is always called Abijam in 1 Kings.

21. Rehoboam did his best to rival his father in the size of his harem, and strove to lead his sons in the same way.

23. dispersed of all his sons : by this means not only was

sons throughout all the lands of Judah and Benjamin, unto every fenced city: and he gave them victual in abundance. And he sought *for them* many wives.

And it came to pass, when the kingdom of Rehoboam ¹² was established, and he was strong, that he forsook the law of the LORD, and all Israel with him. [H] And it ² came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had trespassed against the LORD, [Ch] with ³ twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubim, the Sukkiim, and

provision made for the royal princes and a firmer grasp kept upon the outlying districts, but also the danger of plots within the royal family, such as had blighted David's reign, was avoided.

xii. *Apostasy and Invasion.*

1. he forsook the law of the LORD: i.e. he lapsed into idolatry. In this verse the chronicler indicates the underlying cause of the subsequent invasion. It is a characteristic addition to the narrative of 1 Kings xiv which he is approaching, due to his religious reading of history. Only when we put ourselves in line with his special aims as an historian can we understand the principle of selection and the reason of the additions in his work.

2. Shishak: cf. 1 Kings xiv. 25. While the chronicler has pointed out the religious grounds for this national chastisement, the modern student will not fail to connect it also with the disruption. Jeroboam had been a refugee in Shishak's domains and would probably instigate his patron to attack Rehoboam. The invasion did not affect northern Israel, although it is probable that immunity was only secured by tribute. In the temple of Amon at Karnak there existed a list of towns which paid tribute to Shishak, clearly indicating that the Judean towns paid it as to a conqueror, whereas the Israelite cities paid it as to a suzerain. The date of this first serious invasion of the theocratic kingdom was 928 B. C. Shishak probably reigned over Egypt from 950 to 928 B. C.; he is known as the founder of the twenty-second dynasty.

3. Lubim: i.e. Libyans. Shishak (*Sošenk*) was himself a Libyan.

Sukkiim: LXX, 'Troglodytes'—some of the tribes bordering on Egypt, otherwise unknown.

4 the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities which
 5 pertained to Judah, and came unto Jerusalem. Now
 Shemaiah the prophet came to Rehoboam, and to the
 6 princes of Judah, that were gathered together to Jerusalem
 because of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the
 LORD, Ye have forsaken me, therefore have I also left
 6 you in the hand of Shishak. Then the princes of Israel
 and the king humbled themselves; and they said, The
 7 LORD is righteous. And when the LORD saw that they
 humbled themselves, the word of the LORD came to
 Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; I will
 not destroy them: but I will grant them some deliverance,
 and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by
 8 the hand of Shishak. Nevertheless they shall be his
 servants; that they may know my service, and the service
 9 of the kingdoms of the countries. [H] So Shishak king
 of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the
 treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of
 the king's house; he took all away: he took away also

4. the fenced cities: probably including many of those mentioned in xi. 6-10. After reducing the provincial fortresses, he marched on the capital.

5. Shemaiah: cf. note on xi. 2. He is here called 'the prophet'; but in xi. 2 he is designated by the simple, earlier style 'the man of God.' His message proclaims defeat as a punishment for apostasy.

6. humbled themselves: i. e. they repented and returned to their loyalty to Jehovah. They admitted the justice of the chastisement in the words 'Jehovah is righteous.'

7. some deliverance: better, as in the margin, 'deliverance within a little while.'

my wrath shall not be poured out: an expression implying that the chastisement should stop short of utter destruction.

8. that they may know my service: through bitter experience they are to learn the hardness of forsaking Jehovah and falling under foreign yoke.

9. against Jerusalem: evidently Shishak captured and sacked Jerusalem.

the shields of gold which Solomon had made. And king 10
 Rehoboam made in their stead shields of brass, and
 committed them to the hands of the captains of the guard,
 that kept the door of the king's house. [Ch²] And it was 11
 so, that as oft as the king entered into the house of the
 LORD, the guard came and bare them, and brought them
 back into the guard chamber. And when he humbled 12
 himself, the wrath of the LORD turned from him, that he
 would not destroy him altogether: and moreover in
 Judah there were good things *found*. So king Rehoboam 13
 strengthened himself in Jerusalem, and reigned: for
 [H] Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he
 began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in
 Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of
 all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there: and his
 mother's name was Naamah the Ammonitess. And he 14
 did that which was evil, because he set not his heart to
 seek the LORD. [Ch²] Now the acts of Rehoboam, first 15
 and last, are they not written in the histories of Shemaiah
 the prophet and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of
 genealogies? And there were wars between Rehoboam
 and Jeroboam [H] continually. And Rehoboam slept 16

10. captains of the guard: literally 'of the runners'; they were the king's personal body-guard.

11. Here we have light upon the use to which the golden shields of Solomon were put; but we learn that the brazen shields were not kept in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

12. in Judah there were good things found: Judah was still at heart loyal to Jehovah.

13. strengthened himself: regained the power which Shishak's invasion had crippled.

his mother's name: the constant mention of the name of the queen-mothers of Judean kings implies that their influence at court was large.

15. in the histories . . . of Iddo: cf. Introd. § iv.

with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David : and Abijah his son reigned in his stead.

- 13 In the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam began Abijah
 2 to reign over Judah. Three years reigned he in Jerusalem:
 and his mother's name was Micaiah the daughter of Uriel
 of Gibeah. And there was war between Abijah and
 3 Jeroboam. [Ch] And Abijah joined battle with an army
 of valiant men of war, even four hundred thousand chosen
 men : and Jeroboam set the battle in array against him
 with eight hundred thousand chosen men, who were
 4 mighty men of valour. And Abijah stood up upon mount

(3) xiii. *Abijah's Reign.*

Abijah's reign of three years (916-914 B.C.) is described very summarily by the author of 1 Kings xv. 1-8. The chronicler adds a vivid and detailed account of the war against Jeroboam, in which Abijah, by the help of Jehovah, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the northern army. Evidently there were other sources of information than canonical Kings at his disposal.

1. **Abijah**: 1 Kings xv. 1, &c., reads 'Abijam'; both forms of the name were probably current.

2. **his mother's name was Micaiah**: in LXX, ■ Chron. xi. 20 and 1 Kings xv. 2, it is given as Maacah, which must be read here also.

there was war: the chronicler omits to transcribe 1 Kings xv. 3-6, which verses seem to have been the original work of the compiler of Kings, and merely inserts the closing sentence of verse 7. He then proceeds to give an original version of the great campaign between north and south.

xiii. 3-21. *War with Jeroboam*. In this campaign the chronicler found precisely the material he desired as an illustration of his philosophy of history. All the facts seemed to point the right moral for his late readers. The size of Jeroboam's army was double that of Abijah's, and the northern king marched to the battle with all the confidence of overwhelming numbers. But Abijah, though hopelessly outnumbered, was quite as confident as his foe. His confidence, however, rose from the consciousness of fidelity to Jehovah and of loyalty to the law and the Temple ritual. And in the issue, after a temporary uncertainty, the tide of battle was turned by Jehovah and a complete victory fell to the southern arms.

4. **mount Zemaraim**: evidently a mountain camping ground

Zemaraim, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, and said, Hear me, O Jeroboam and all Israel; ought ye 5 not to know that the LORD, the God of Israel, gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt? Yet Jero- 6 boam the son of Nebat, the servant of Solomon the son of David, rose up, and rebelled against his lord. And there were gathered unto him vain men, sons of 7 Belial, which strengthened themselves against Rehoboam the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted, and could not withstand them. And now 8 ye think to withstand the kingdom of the LORD in the hand of the sons of David; and ye be a great multitude, and there are with you the golden calves which Jeroboam

somewhere near the borders of the two kingdoms; verse 19 implies that it was not far from Beth-el; and it may have lain somewhere in the south of Ephraim.

Hear me, O Jeroboam: the address of Abijah to the attacking army on the eve of battle is absolutely unique in its lofty appeal to principle. In it he treats the foe as conscious rebels against Jehovah and the divinely elected house of David. He reminds them of their illegitimate cultus of the calves and of their irregular priesthood; whereas Judah is both loyal to Jehovah and to the ancient priesthood which performed the daily service in the national sanctuary. And he concludes by the reminder that Jehovah is the God of battles.

5. for ever: Abijah ignores the conditions of 2 Sam. vii. 14, which conditions had been violated by both Solomon and Rehoboam.

by a covenant of salt: when a guest had sat at the board of an Arab chieftain and partaken of his salt, the obligation of the host towards the stranger was one of inviolable sanctity. Jehovah's covenant with the Davidic dynasty is regarded as equally inviolable.

6. Jeroboam . . . rose up, and rebelled: Abijah places the entire blame upon Jeroboam; but cf. 2 Chron. xi. 4.

7. when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted: cf. xii. 13. The phrase implies the king's inexperience of men and that he was the weak victim of autocratic councillors. Abijah scarcely does justice to the facts of Rehoboam's headstrong conduct.

9 made you for gods. Have ye not driven out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the peoples of *other* lands? so that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same
 10 may be a priest of *them that are* no gods. But as for us, the LORD is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and *we have* priests ministering unto the LORD, the sons of
 11 Aaron, and the Levites in their work: and they burn unto the LORD every morning and every evening burnt offerings and sweet incense: the shewbread also *set they* in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye have forsaken
 12 him. And, behold, God is with us at our head, and his priests with the trumpets of alarm to sound an alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the LORD, the God of your fathers; for ye shall not
 13 prosper. But Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come

8. there are with you the golden calves: this does not necessarily imply that the calves were brought into battle with the host; though such was very probably the case. In earlier ages the Ark was carried to battle; and the Philistines carried their gods with them when attacking David.

9. to consecrate himself: the offering here mentioned is that prescribed by the law, cf. Exod. xxix; but the offence lay in that nothing more than a property qualification was demanded of the applicant for the priesthood.

12. the trumpets of alarm: cf. Num. x. 9.

children of Israel: the term had come to denote the northern kingdom long before the time of the chronicler's originals.

xiii. 13-20. *The Battle of Mount Zemaraim.* Jeroboam made a frontal attack and at the same time caught the southern clansmen in the rear. At that moment, however, the battle-charge was sounded and, by the help of Jehovah, Judah prevailed. The

about behind them: so they were before Judah, and the ambushment was behind them. And when Judah 14 looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind them: and they cried unto the LORD, and the priests sounded with the trumpets. Then the men of Judah 15 gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah. And the children of Israel fled 16 before Judah: and God delivered them into their hand. And Abijah and his people slew them with a great 17 slaughter: so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred thousand chosen men. Thus the children of Israel were 18 brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the LORD, the God of their fathers. And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, 19 and took cities from him, Beth-el with the towns thereof, and Jeshanah with the towns thereof, and Ephron with the towns thereof. Neither did Jeroboam recover strength 20 again in the days of Abijah: and the LORD smote him, and he died. But Abijah waxed mighty, and took unto 21

number of slain is enormous, but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the figures in view of the conditions of early warfare.

18, 19. the children of Israel were brought under: i.e. they did not recover from the defeat during the reign of Jeroboam, cf. verse 20. Abijah did not recover the territory which his father had lost; he was merely able to take certain cities from the northern kingdom. He captured **Beth-el**, the modern Beitin, ten miles north of Jerusalem; **Jeshanah**, the modern 'Ain Sinia, three and a half miles north of Beth-el; and **Ephron**, possibly the modern et-Taiyibeh, four miles north-east of Beth-el; and he subdued the surrounding territory.

xiii. 21-23. Abijah reaped the fruits of victory in the growing prosperity of his kingdom. Like every Oriental monarch, he increased the size of his harem as an index of his power, although some of the wives alluded to must have entered the harem before the victory over Jeroboam, seeing that Abijah's entire reign only lasted three years.

himself fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons,
 22 and sixteen daughters. [H] And the rest of the acts of
 Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, are written in the
 commentary of the prophet Iddo.

14 So Abijah slept with his fathers, and they buried him
 in the city of David, and Asa his son reigned in his
 2 stead: in his days the land was quiet ten years. And
 Asa did that which was good and right in the eyes of the
 3 LORD his God: for he took away the strange altars, and
 the high places, and brake down the pillars, and hewed
 4 down the Asherim; [Ch] and commanded Judah to seek

22. the commentary of the prophet Iddo: literally 'the midrash,' i. e. a didactic exposition of history, either written by the prophet Iddo, or else giving a prominent place to him. It may possibly have been a part of the 'midrash of the Book of the Kings' (1 Chron. xxiv. 27). Cf. *Intro.* § iv.

(4) xiv-xvi. *Reign of Asa.*

The material which forms the foundation for the narrative is identical with 1 Kings xv. 8-24, but this has been expanded by new material and vivid details. The chronicler regards Asa as the pious son of a godly father, one who vigorously suppressed idolatry and cared for the fortification of his kingdom. He describes the Ethiopian campaign, wherein Asa gained a victory paralleled by that of Abijah at Mount Zemaraim, and tells us that the victory was turned to good account by the prophet Azariah. Asa then renews his zeal for Jehovah, enriches the Temple, and holds a national religious festival. Subsequently he is attacked by Baasha of Israel and uses the Temple treasures to buy the aid of Ben-hadad of Syria; for this he is censured by another prophet, Hanani. After further fortifying his northern frontier, Asa's long reign of forty-one years draws to a close, and he dies amid national lamentations.

xiv. 1-8. *Reformation and Consolidation.*

3. the strange altars: i. e. altars dedicated to foreign deities.

the pillars: Heb. *Maššēbāh* denotes a stele, or upright stone, regarded as the symbol of a deity; these pillars formed an essential part of the heathen cultus of Syria and were frequently dedicated to the sun-god, Ba'al.

the Asherim: A. V. 'groves'; the Asherah was an upright pole or mast which stood beside the altar in front of Canaanitish sanctuaries, and was regarded as a symbol of the goddess Astarte.

the LORD, the God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment. Also he took away out of all the 5 cities of Judah the high places and the sun-images: and the kingdom was quiet before him. And he built fenced 6 cities in Judah: for the land was quiet, and he had no war in those years; because the LORD had given him rest. For he said unto Judah, Let us build these cities, 7 and make about them walls, and towers, gates, and bars; the land is yet before us, because we have sought the LORD our God; we have sought him, and he hath given us rest on every side. So they built and prospered. And Asa had an army that bare bucklers and spears, out 8 of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of Benjamin, that bare shields and drew bows, two hundred and fourscore thousand: all these were mighty men of valour. [H²] And there came out against them Zerah the Ethio- 9

To the worshippers of Jehovah the worship of a female deity was especially repugnant.

4. commanded Judah to seek the LORD: his reforming zeal had a positive as well as a negative side.

5. the high places: cf. note on I Chron. xvi. 39. In I Kings xv. 14 we are informed that Asa did not take away the high places, although it is distinctly implied that his failure in this respect was due to the inveterate tendencies of the people for their use rather than to his own delinquencies.

the sun-images: Heb. *hammānīm*. These were sacred stones or steles used in connexion with the 'bāmāh,' and may possibly have belonged to the cult of the god Ba'al-hammān, so prevalent in Carthagina.

6. the land was quiet: the first ten years of Asa's reign were free from war and were devoted wholly to religious reform and to consolidation of the kingdom.

7. So they built and prospered: we are not informed of the names of these new fortresses.

8. out of Benjamin . . . two hundred and fourscore thousand: the figures are so large in connexion with a little tribe like Benjamin that they create suspicion of their genuineness.

xiv. 9-15. *The Ethiopian Invasion.*

9. Zerah the Ethiopian: it is exceedingly difficult to determine

- pian with an army of a thousand thousand, and three
 10 hundred chariots; and he came unto Mareshah. Then
 Asa went out to meet him, and they set the battle in
 11 array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah. [Ch] And
 Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, there
 is none beside thee to help, between the mighty and
 him that hath no strength: help us, O LORD our God;
 for we rely on thee, and in thy name are we come against
 this multitude. O LORD, thou art our God; let not man
 12 prevail against thee. [H²] So the LORD smote the Ethio-
 pians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians
 13 fled. And Asa and the people that were with him
 pursued them unto Gerar: [Ch] and there fell of the
 Ethiopians so many that they could not recover them-
 selves; for they were destroyed before the LORD, and
 before his host; and they carried away very much booty.
 14 And they smote all the cities round about Gerar; for the
 fear of the LORD came upon them: and they spoiled all

who this invader was. Usually he is identified with Osorkon I of Egypt, a ruler of the twenty-second, or Bubastic dynasty (so Ewald); but Osorkon was not an Ethiopian. Others adopt the methods of a negative criticism and reject the entire narrative, thus certainly escaping its problems (so Kuenen and Wellhausen). Perhaps the best positive solution is that which regards Zerah as a ruler of south Arabia (so Kittel). His troops are roughly estimated at one million foot.

Mareshah: i. e. Marissa. Cf. note on xi. 8.

10. in the valley of Zephathah: Asa drew up his battle-line on level ground near Mareshah.

11, 12. The Jewish king makes his appeal to Jehovah against his overwhelming odds, and Jehovah answers, giving a complete victory to the pious king.

13. The rout of the bedouin hordes is absolute. The flying hosts are pursued as far as **Gerar**, now identified with el-Jērār, five miles south of Gaza. The very size of the defeated host caused confusion, and enormous booty fell to Asa.

14. all the cities round about Gazar: as these were all Philistine cities, they were probably confederate with Zerah.

the cities; for there was much spoil in them. They ¹⁵ smote also the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep in abundance and camels, and returned to Jerusalem.

And the spirit of God came upon Azariah the son of ¹⁵ Oded: and he went out to meet Asa, and said unto him, ² Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: the LORD is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you. Now for long seasons Israel hath been ³ without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law: but when in their distress they turned unto ⁴ the LORD, the God of Israel, and sought him, he was found of them. And in those times there was no peace ⁵ to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the lands. And they were broken in pieces, nation against nation, ⁶

xv. 1-7. *The Prophecy of Azariah.*

1. Azariah the son of Oded: we have no mention elsewhere of the prophet Azariah-ben-Oded. His only recorded appearance seems to have been this encounter with the victorious Asa. The phrase 'the spirit of God came upon Azariah' is in harmony with the belief that all prophets were directly controlled by a supernatural spirit. The Hebrew word for 'spirit' (רוח *ruah*) denotes 'wind' or 'breath,' and is used in conjunction with Jehovah or Elohim as the Quickener of nature (e.g. Job xxxii. 8), as the Giver of intelligence (e.g. 1 Sam. xvi. 13), as the Creator (e.g. Ps. civ. 30), and as the Inspirer of prophecy (e.g. Num. xi. 29). In the O.T. the personality of the Spirit of God had not yet clearly emerged, although it is certainly implicit; the Spirit is, then, rather a power subject to God's free will and closely connected with His word.

2-7. The prophet opens his address to king and army with a general statement that God's attitude to the people invariably depends upon their attitude to Him. Interpreters of the words of Azariah have been at pains to determine a definite reference to historical circumstances, indicating sometimes the past experience of Israel under the Judges, sometimes the contemporary condition of the northern tribes, and sometimes the future ages under Roman

and city against city: for God did vex them with all
 7 adversity. But be ye strong, and let not your hands be
 8 slack: for your work shall be rewarded. And when Asa
 heard these words, and the prophecy of Oded the
 prophet, he took courage, and put away the abominations
 out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of
 the cities which he had taken from the hill country of
 Ephraim; and he renewed the altar of the LORD, that
 9 was before the porch of the LORD. And he gathered all
 Judah and Benjamin, and them that sojourned with them
 out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for
 they fell to him out of Israel in abundance, when they
 10 saw that the LORD his God was with him. So they
 gathered themselves together at Jerusalem in the third
 11 month, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa. And

rule. Such interpretations are, at the best, precarious. The only satisfactory way is to regard the statements as made in a general sense, capable of illustration from all ages yet limited to no one occasion. In vivid language Azariah depicts the results of apostasy and turns his address into an earnest exhortation for courage in the service of Jehovah.

xv. 8-18. *Religious Reform.*

8. the prophecy of Oded the prophet: the text is corrupt. The prophet's name was 'Azariah-ben-Oded.' Either, then, several words have dropped out; or else the words 'of Oded the prophet' have been inserted from a marginal gloss and should be omitted. The latter explanation is the more probable as the Hebrew words stand in an impossible construction at present.

abominations: a general term for idolatrous worship.

renewed the altar of the LORD: i.e. the altar of burnt offering, which might well need repair after having stood for sixty years, even if it did not need cleansing from idolatrous defilement.

9. out of Simeon: as this tribe lay south of Judah it cannot be implied here that it had actually joined the revolted tribes of the north. Probably Simeon had largely lapsed into idolatry after elevating Beer-sheba to the dignity of a shrine (cf. Amos v. 5, viii. 14). Under Asa's revival numerous devout Simeonites flocked to the great festival at Jerusalem along with the worshippers from the north.

10. in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa: we learn from

they sacrificed unto the LORD in that day, of the spoil which they had brought, seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep. And they entered into the covenant to ¹² seek the LORD, the God of their fathers, with all their heart and with all their soul; and that whosoever would ¹³ not seek the LORD, the God of Israel, should be put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman. And they swore unto the LORD with a loud voice, and ¹⁴ with shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets. And all Judah rejoiced at the oath: for they had sworn ¹⁵ with all their heart, and sought him with their whole desire; and he was found of them: and the LORD gave them rest round about. [H] And also Maacah the ¹⁶ mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being queen, because she had made an abominable image for an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image, and made dust of it, and burnt it at the brook Kidron. But the ¹⁷

xiv. 1 that the first ten years of Asa's reign were uninterrupted by war. Hence the campaign of Zerah occurred some time within the next five years; and the invasion can scarcely have been crushed until well on towards the fifteenth year, seeing that the booty formed the sacrifice at the great festival. This festival was unconnected with any of the great Deuteronomic festivals. The third month corresponds to our June.

11. of the spoil: presumably the result of the victory over Zerah.

12. entered into the covenant: i.e. renewed the covenant vows of loyalty to Jehovah.

13. should be put to death: in accordance with Deut. xvii. 2-6. The grounds for this were both religious and political, in that worship of foreign gods implied disloyalty to the state as well as to Jehovah.

16. From this point to xvi. 6, the narrative corresponds with I Kings xv. 13-22.

from being queen: read 'queen-mother' as in margin.

an abominable image: it is impossible to decide what kind of abomination is here meant; possibly an image of the goddess Astarte.

17. the high places were not taken away: the intense religious

high places were not taken away out of Israel: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days. And he brought into the house of God the things that his father had dedicated, and that he himself had dedicated, silver, and gold, and vessels. And there was no more war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa.

16 In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah, that he might not suffer any to go out or come

objection to local shrines can hardly be regarded as fully felt in the time of Asa. In earlier days it was considered quite legitimate to worship at the 'bāmāh,' as we see from the case of Samuel; but the custom, so open to abuse, had come to be regarded as essentially idolatrous by the Deuteronomists long before the chronicler's day.

19. The apparent discrepancy between this statement and 1 Kings xv. 16 may be explained by the assumption that a hostile attitude between the two kingdoms existed continually, but that actual war only broke out in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign. But cf. note on xvi. 1, where it is shown that there is an error in the dates.

xvi. *Asa's Reign ends in War and Weakness.*

Towards the close of Asa's reign, according to the chronicler's narrative (cf. verse 1), the latent hostility of Israel burst out anew into open war, and Asa sought a defensive alliance with Damascus at the price of the Temple treasures. This sign of distrust of Jehovah called forth a stinging rebuke from the prophet Hanani. The monarch's latter days were marked by oppression, disease, and defection; yet he was followed to the grave with every sign of national lamentation.

xvi. 1-6. *War with Baasha* (cf. 1 Kings xv. 16-22).

1. In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa: evidently the date is incorrect. In 1 Kings xvi. 8-10 we learn that Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign and that his successor Elah died in the twenty-seventh. Clearly there has been a confusion between the letters representing the numerals. (In Hebrew, thirty was represented by ם and ten by י). Hence we should possibly change the dates in xv. 19 and xvi. 1 to 15th and 16th respectively.

built Ramah: a border town between the two kingdoms, represented by the modern er-Rām, five miles north of Jerusalem.

in to Asa king of Judah. Then Asa brought out silver² and gold out of the treasures of the house of the LORD and of the king's house, and sent to Ben-hadad king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, *There is a*³ league between me and thee, as *there was* between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent thee silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me. And Ben-hadad⁴ hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains of his armies against the cities of Israel; and they smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-maim, and all the store cities of Naphtali. And it came to pass, when Baasha heard⁵ thereof, that he left off building of Ramah, and let his work cease. Then Asa the king took all Judah; and⁶ they carried away the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof, wherewith Baasha had builded; and he built therewith Geba and Mizpah. [Ch] And at that time⁷ Hanani the seer came to Asa king of Judah, and said

2. Ben-hadad: the original form of the name of this energetic and warlike ally of Asa seems to have been Bir-'idri.

3. a league between me and thee: the Syrian kings were always open to ally themselves with one or other of the Hebrew kingdoms so as to keep the power of both in check.

4. Ijon: the name still survives in the Merj-'Ayūn, a rich plain at the foot of the hills of Naphtali. **Dan** is the modern Tell-el-Kādī; it was the most northerly city of Israel. **Abel-maim**, or 'Abel-in-the-water,' now called Ābil, was situated high on a hill overlooking the Jordan valley, not far from Dan. **All the store cities** is another way of indicating what 1 Kings calls 'all Chinnereth,' a fertile district west of Gennesaret.

6. Geba: the modern Jeba, a little north-east of Ramah. By fortifying Geba, Asa pushed his frontier further north. **Mizpah:** on a lofty point not far from Jerusalem and south-west of Ramah.

xvi. 7-10. *Hanani's Rebuke.*

7. Hanani: the otherwise unknown prophet implies that Ben-hadad was indeed confederate with Baasha, yet Jehovah would have given victory to Asa over the combined forces. Like all the great prophets, he protested against the policy of foreign

unto him, Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and hast not relied on the LORD thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thine hand.

8 Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubim a huge host, with chariots and horsemen exceeding many? yet, because thou didst rely on the LORD, he delivered them into thine

9 hand. For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to shew himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him. Herein thou hast done foolishly; for from henceforth thou shalt have

10 wars. Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put him in the prison house; for he was in a rage with him because of this thing. And Asa oppressed some of the

11 people the same time. [Ch²] And, behold, the acts of Asa, first and last, lo, they are written in the book of the kings

12 of Judah and Israel. [Ch] And in the thirty and ninth year of his reign Asa was diseased in his feet; his disease was exceeding great: yet in his disease he sought not to

13 the LORD, but to the physicians. And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in the one and fortieth year of his reign.

14 And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had hewn out for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and

alliances. Asa's conduct was responsible for the first Syrian invasion of the northern kingdom.

9. thou shalt have wars: of these we have no record, but Hanani foresaw the result of Asa's timidity and his Syrian alliances.

10. Asa oppressed some of the people: the phrase implies that there had been a strong protest against the king's treatment of Hanani and that he used repressive measures in return.

xvi. 11-14. *Asa's Decline and Death* (cf. 1 Kings xv. 23, 24).

11. the book of the kings of Judah and Israel: cf. Introd. § iv.

12. the physicians: probably magicians are referred to. The practice of medicine was in all likelihood really confined to the priests, as in Egypt.

divers kinds of *spices* prepared by the apothecaries' art : and they made a very great burning for him.

[H] And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead, 17 [Ch] and strengthened himself against Israel. And he ² placed forces in all the fenced cities of Judah, and set garrisons in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken. And the ³ LORD was with Jehoshaphat, because he walked in the first ways of his father David, and sought not unto the

14. a very great burning : not a cremation of the king, which would have been contrary to all Hebrew custom, but the burning of enormous quantities of incense and spices.

(5) xvii-xx. *Reign of Jehoshaphat.*

To our historian the age of Jehoshaphat was an era of dazzling splendour almost unsurpassed in the annals of Judah. His narrative runs closely parallel to that of 1 Kings (xv. 24^b, xxii. 1-35^a, 41-43^a, 48, 49), but it has been enriched by large additions as well as qualified by significant omissions. The chronicler paints the picture of a pious monarch walking in the steps of David, removing the high-places and the Asherim, and organizing a Levitical commission to instruct the people in the laws of Jehovah. Under such a *régime* the kingdom becomes powerful and enjoys the blessings of peace. The one event which is unworthy of such a monarch is shown to be the alliance with Ahab against Ramoth-gilead ; but Jehoshaphat is allowed to escape from the resultant disaster because of his piety. This deliverance is followed by greater devotion to Jehovah, and when, later on, an invasion of the land is made by a triple army, the victory is secured to Judah by the direct response of Jehovah to His people's faith without their striking a single blow. The victory leads up to a solemn religious festival of praise at Jerusalem—a fitting climax to a reign in the eyes of a Levitical historian.

xvii. *Jehoshaphat's Early Kingship.*

xvii. 1-5. *Fortifying the Kingdom.*

1. **strengthened himself against Israel** : Jehoshaphat sought to secure his kingdom by looking to the garrison towns rather than by means of foreign alliances, as Asa had done.

2. **cities of Ephraim** : cf. xv. 8.

3. **the first ways of his father David** : the reference is to the years before David fell into the crime of the Bath-sheba incident, &c.

4 Baalim ; but sought to the God of his father, and walked in his commandments, and not after the doings of Israel.
 5 Therefore the LORD stablished the kingdom in his hand ; and all Judah brought to Jehoshaphat presents ; and he
 6 had riches and honour in abundance. And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the LORD : and furthermore he took away the high places and the Asherim out of
 7 Judah. Also in the third year of his reign he sent his princes, even Ben-hail, and Obadiah, and Zechariah, and Nethanel, and Micaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah ;
 8 and with them the Levites, even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah, the Levites ; and with them [H²] Elishama and Jehoram,
 9 the priests. And they taught in Judah, having the book of the law of the LORD with them ; and they went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught among the
 10 people. [Ch] And the fear of the LORD fell upon all

5. **brought . . . presents:** these were voluntary gifts, not tribute, given to a monarch whom they respected and loved.

xvii. 6-11. *Religious Reform.* Encouraged by three years of temporal prosperity, Jehoshaphat next purged the land of idolatrous worship and organized a system of religious instruction for the people at the hands of a commission of princes, Levites, and priests. The Book of Kings knows nothing of this commission, but we are not therefore justified in denying its historicity.

6. **the high places and the Asherim:** i.e. lingering signs of heathen cults.

7, 8. The commission consisted of five princes, nine Levites, and two priests ; nothing is known of the individual members.

9. **the book of the law of the LORD:** probably this was the Deuteronomic code, the books of Moses, although it is almost certain that it was not in its present form.

10. **the fear of the LORD fell:** the strength of a land and the power of the national deity were held to be inseparable ; hence the security of the kingdom produced an impression of the greatness of Jehovah.

the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat. And 11 some of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents, and silver for tribute; the Arabians also brought him flocks, seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and seven thousand and seven hundred he-goats. And 12 Jehoshaphat waxed great exceedingly; and he built in Judah castles and cities of store. And he had many 13 works in the cities of Judah; and men of war, mighty men of valour, in Jerusalem. And this was the number- 14 ing of them according to their fathers' houses: of Judah, the captains of thousands; Adnah the captain, and with him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand; and next to him Jehohanan the captain, and with him 15 two hundred and fourscore thousand; and next to him 16 Amasiah the son of Zichri, who willingly offered himself unto the LORD; and with him two hundred thousand mighty men of valour: and of Benjamin; Eliada a mighty 17 man of valour, and with him two hundred thousand armed with bow and shield: and next to him Jehozabad, and 18 with him an hundred and fourscore thousand ready prepared for war. These were they that waited on the 19 king, beside those whom the king put in the fenced cities throughout all Judah.

[Ch²] Now Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in 18

xvii. 12-19. *Jehoshaphat's Power.* The military organization and the works for national defence were pushed on continually as a result of growing power and prestige. The three captains of Judah and the two of Benjamin commanded between them 1,160,000 men. The numbers seem to be excessive, especially when we recall the fact that David's census only gave 500,000 to all Judah; but we have no means of correcting the figures.

xviii. *Jehoshaphat and the Northern Kingdom.*

The incident of Jehoshaphat's marriage alliance with Ahab's

2 abundance; and he joined affinity with Ahab. And
 after certain years he went down to Ahab to Samaria.
 And Ahab killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance,
 and for the people that were with him, and moved him to
 3 go up *with him* to Ramoth-gilead. [H] And Ahab king
 of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou
 go with me to Ramoth-gilead? And he answered him,
 I am as thou art, and my people as thy people; and
 4 *we will be* with thee in the war. And Jehoshaphat said
 unto the king of Israel, Inquire, I pray thee, at the word
 5 of the LORD to-day. Then the king of Israel gathered

house and the united campaign of the two kings against Ramoth-gilead is found also in 1 Kings xxii. 1-35^a. It is one of the few instances in which the chronicler alludes to the history of northern Israel, but is probably introduced as serving to show Jehovah's care for the pious king of Judah.

xviii. 1-4. *The Alliance with Israel.*

1. Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance: a statement which cuts at the root of the idea that he was virtually a vassal of Ahab, although this has actually been held by some students of the narrative.

joined affinity with Ahab: Jehoshaphat's son Joram married Ahab's daughter Athaliah (cf. xxi. 6). The chronicler shows by the sequel how disastrous such an alliance was. It led Jehoshaphat to risk his own life (xviii. 31), it paved the way to the introduction of Phoenician idolatry into Judah (xxii. 3 ff.), and it eventually resulted in the almost extirpation of the royal house (xxii. 10-12).

2. after certain years: in 1 Kings xxii. 1 we learn that three years of peace had followed Ahab's earlier Syrian campaign.

moved him to go up: Jehoshaphat seems to have been won over, perhaps against his own judgement, by Ahab's hospitality and entreaty.

Ramoth-gilead: a Gadite fortress of disputed site. G. A. Smith conjectures the modern er-Ramthè to be its representative. Others favour Şalhad. In any case it was an important stronghold over which Israel and Syria long waged war.

xviii. 5-27. *Consultation of the Prophets.*

5. the king of Israel gathered the prophets: here we have an instructive insight into the religious conditions of northern Israel. The worship of Jehovah lingered and was largely practised,

the prophets together, four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; for God shall deliver it into the hand of the king. But Jehoshaphat said, Is 6 there not here besides a prophet of the LORD, that we might inquire of him? And the king of Israel said unto 7 Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man by whom we may inquire of the LORD: but I hate him; for he never prophesieth good concerning me, but always evil: the same is Micaiah the son of Imla. And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so. Then the king of Israel called 8 an officer, and said, Fetch quickly Micaiah the son of Imla. Now the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king 9 of Judah sat each on his throne, arrayed in their robes, and they sat in an open place at the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them. And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him 10 horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the LORD, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until they be consumed. And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to 11 Ramoth-gilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king. And the messenger that 12 went to call Micaiah spake to him, saying, Behold, the words of the prophets *declare* good to the king with one

though it must have been mingled with heterodox elements. Indeed this was the very period of Elijah's greatest activity. Yet the reluctance of Jehoshaphat to accept the verdict of the 400 prophets implies that they stood in a false relationship to Jehovah, probably compromising with the cults of Phoenicia.

7. Micaiah the son of Imla: the sole man among the professional prophets who was known as a fearless and discriminating prophet of Jehovah.

9. The two kings sat in state at the city gate while the assembled prophets urged them to proceed against Ramoth. The most zealous of these enthusiasts was one Zedekiah, who made use of the symbolical horns of iron to drive home his opinions.

mouth : let thy word therefore, I pray thee, be like one of
 13 theirs, and speak thou good. And Micaiah said, As the
 14 LORD liveth, what my God saith, that will I speak. And
 when he was come to the king, the king said unto him,
 Micaiah, shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I
 forbear? And he said, Go ye up, and prosper; and they
 15 shall be delivered into your hand. And the king said to
 him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou speak
 unto me nothing but the truth in the name of the LORD?
 16 And he said, I saw all Israel scattered upon the moun-
 tains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD
 said, These have no master; let them return every man
 17 to his house in peace. And the king of Israel said to
 Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not
 18 prophesy good concerning me, but evil? And he said,
 Therefore hear ye the word of the LORD: I saw the
 LORD sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven
 19 standing on his right hand and on his left. And the
 LORD said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that he
 may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one spake
 saying after this manner, and another saying after that

12. speak thou good: an official endeavour to influence Micaiah to fall in with the verdict of the royal prophets.

14. Go ye up, and prosper. Micaiah's first response is so evidently a mocking echo of the professional prophets that Ahab refuses to receive it as his genuine message.

16. Micaiah relates the first of two visions. He pictures Israel as a scattered flock, thereby clearly indicating that the campaign should cost Ahab his life. The use of the word 'shepherd' for an eastern king was quite common.

xviii. 18-22. Micaiah's second vision is related to account for the words of the 'false' prophets. They were inspired by a spirit of falsehood, whose activity was permitted by Jehovah as a means of carrying out the divine purpose towards Ahab.

18. the LORD sitting upon his throne: Micaiah depicts the royal council of the heavens.

manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood 20
before the LORD, and said, I will entice him. And the
LORD said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go 21
forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all
his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt entice him,
and shalt prevail also: go forth, and do so. Now there- 22
fore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the
mouth of these thy prophets; and the LORD hath spoken
evil concerning thee. Then Zedekiah the son of Che- 23
naanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek,
and said, Which way went the spirit of the LORD from me
to speak unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold, thou 24
shalt see on that day, when thou shalt go into an inner
chamber to hide thyself. And the king of Israel said, 25
Take ye Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the
governor of the city, and to Joash the king's son; and 26
say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and
feed him with bread of affliction and with water of
affliction, until I return in peace. And Micaiah said, 27
If thou return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken
by me. And he said, Hear, ye peoples, all of you.

So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of 28
Judah went up to Ramoth-gilead. And the king of 29

23. the spirit of the LORD: even Zedekiah regards the Spirit of Jehovah as the author of his message.

24. Micaiah's answer is a vivid picture of the false prophet fleeing after the military disaster. The sign given was definite and personal.

27. Hear, ye peoples, all of you: as these words form the opening sentences of the prophecy of Micah (cf. Mic. i. 2) they have probably entered the text of 1 Kings (where the LXX omits them) by way of a marginal gloss.

xviii. 28-34. *Battle of Ramoth.* Ahab enters the battle in disguise. He is sought out by the Syrian captains, who mistake Jehoshaphat for him, and the Judean king narrowly escapes.

Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and go into the battle; but put thou on thy robes. So the king of Israel disguised himself; and they went into
 30 the battle. Now the king of Syria had commanded the captains of his chariots, saying, Fight neither with
 31 small nor great, save only with the king of Israel. And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, It is the king of Israel. Therefore they turned about to fight against him: but Jehoshaphat cried out, and the LORD helped him; and
 32 God moved them *to depart* from him. And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw that it was not the king of Israel, that they turned back from
 33 pursuing him. And a certain man drew his bow at a venture, and smote the king of Israel between the joints of the harness: wherefore he said to the driver of the chariot, Turn thine hand, and carry me out of the
 34 host; for I am sore wounded. And the battle increased that day: howbeit the king of Israel stayed himself up in his chariot against the Syrians until the even: and about the time of the going down of the sun he died.

19 [Ch] And Jehoshaphat the king of Judah returned

Ahab, however, receives a mortal wound from a random arrow and dies at sunset.

29. I will disguise myself: Ahab thought thus to defeat the evil prognostications of Micaiah.

31. turned about: better 'surrounded him.' The Syrian captains beset Jehoshaphat on all sides. Seeing his danger he called out to rally his men and Jehovah turned the Syrian on-set back.

33. the joints of the harness: Ahab received the fatal wound between the plates of his armour. His death occurred at sunset.

out of the host: LXX, 'out of the battle.'

xix. *Prophetic Rebuke leads to Reforms.*

This chapter appears to be the independent work of the chronicler. It records the rebuke of Jehoshaphat by the prophet

to his house in peace to Jerusalem. And Jehu the son of Hanani the seer went out to meet him, and said to king Jehoshaphat, Shouldest thou help the wicked, and love them that hate the LORD? for this thing wrath is upon thee from before the LORD. Nevertheless there are good things found in thee, in that thou hast put away the Asheroth out of the land, and hast set thine heart to seek God.

And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and he went out again among the people from Beer-sheba to the hill country of Ephraim, and brought them back unto the LORD, the God of their fathers. And he set judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city, and said to the judges, Consider what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the LORD; and *he is with*

Jehu for his alliance with Ahab and describes the effect of that rebuke as a new zeal for the glory of Jehovah. Jehoshaphat proceeds from good to better and proves an apt learner in the school of divine discipline.

xix. 1-3. *Jehu's Rebuke.*

2. **Jehu, the son of Hanani:** a prophet of eminence in the times of Baasha and of Jehoshaphat: he opposed the sin of Baasha (1 Kings xvi. 1-12); he condemned Asa's alliance with Syria (2 Chron. xvi. 7 ff.); and he now appears to rebuke the unhallowed alliance of Jehoshaphat. He is also named in 2 Chron. xx. 34 as an historian. His rebuke of Jehoshaphat is marked by its reasonable tone and its evident admiration of the monarch who has temporarily erred.

xix. 4-II. *Revival of Religion and Justice.* Possibly we have here a reflection of the post-exilic system, according to which each town had its own synagogue and its own Sanhedrin for the administration of justice. So Kittel surmises.

4. **he went out again:** cf. xvii. 7 ff. Jehoshaphat once more inaugurated a revival of religion and justice throughout his dominions.

5. **the fenced cities:** would be chosen for the residence of the official judge as centres of districts.

6. **he is with you in the judgement:** one notes the same idea here as in our early trial by ordeal.

7 you in the judgement. Now therefore let the fear of the LORD be upon you ; take heed and do it : for there is no iniquity with the LORD our God, nor respect of persons, 8 nor taking of gifts. Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites and the priests, and of the heads of the fathers' *houses* of Israel, for the judgement of the LORD, and for controversies. And they returned 9 to Jerusalem. And he charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the LORD, faithfully, and with a 10 perfect heart. And whensoever any controversy shall come to you from your brethren that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgements, ye shall warn them, that they be not guilty towards the LORD, and so wrath come upon you and upon your brethren : this do, and ye shall 11 not be guilty. And, behold, Amariah the chief priest is over you in all matters of the LORD ; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, in all the king's matters : also the Levites shall be officers before you. Deal courageously, and the LORD be with the good.

8. in Jerusalem : the supreme court of justice had its station at the capital, where the legal duties were entrusted to a mixed commission of Levites, priests, and lay-princes.

And they returned to Jerusalem : the phrase as it stands is disconnected and ambiguous. It is better to follow the Syriac and connect it with verse 9, reading 'When they returned to Jerusalem he charged them.'

10. between blood and blood : i. e. criminal cases of murder, &c.

11. The high court of justice was fully organized. The high-priest, Amariah, was supreme judge in all ecclesiastical cases, and Zebadiah, a prince of Judah, in all civil cases ; all lesser offices fell to the Levites. Amariah must not be confounded with the high-priest of the same name in 1 Chron. v. 37 ; but, on the other hand, Zebadiah may be identical with the Levite so named in 2 Chron. xvii. 8.

And it came to pass after this, that the children of 20 Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them some of the Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to battle. Then there came some that told Jehoshaphat, saying, ² There cometh a great multitude against thee from beyond the sea from Syria; and, behold, they be in Hazazon-tamar (the same is En-gedi). And Jehoshaphat feared, and ³ set himself to seek unto the LORD; and he proclaimed a

xx. *Jehoshaphat's Victory over the Triple Alliance.*

The entire chapter is a remarkable illustration of what is known as midrash, or the religious reading of history.

xx. 1, 2. *News of Coming Invasion.*

1. after this: a general expression locating the incident in the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign. The invaders formed a triple alliance, but considerable obscurity surrounds the name of the third member of the league. The R. V. reads 'some of the Ammonites,' a reading secured by reversing the order of two letters in the Hebrew name (מְעֻנִים *m^eunim* has become מְעֻנִים *'Amōnīm*), and which is simply nonsense in connexion with the two powers already named, Moab and Ammon. In the marg. of the R. V., however, we read, with the LXX, 'Meunim'; and we are compelled to thus take the word as the name of a distinct tribe. The *Meunim* are mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 41 as playing a part in the exploits of the Simeonites during Hezekiah's reign, and they are again mentioned in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7 during Uzziah's reign. From the references in the present chapter they evidently occupied a district of Mount Seir and may be regarded as bedouin hordes of Arabian extraction.

2. from beyond the sea: i. e. the Dead Sea.

from Syria: probably we should read 'from Edom,' by the change of a single consonant (אֶדֶם becoming אֲרָם).

En-gedi: now 'Ain Jidē, above the western shore of the Dead Sea, fifteen miles from Jerusalem. The Wādy Ḥaṣāṣeh runs thence into the interior of the Judean hills, and gives rise to the alternative name.

xx. 3-13. *Panic in Jerusalem.*

3. proclaimed a fast: the suddenness of the inroad and the magnitude of the invading forces paralysed king and people with fear. It was evidently an occasion when military force was useless and only the divine interposition could avail. Hence

4 fast throughout all Judah. And Judah gathered themselves together, to seek *help* of the LORD: even out of all
 5 the cities of Judah they came to seek the LORD. And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the LORD, before the new
 6 court; and he said, O LORD, the God of our fathers, art not thou God in heaven? and art not thou ruler over all the kingdoms of the nations? and in thine hand is power
 7 and might, so that none is able to withstand thee. Didst not thou, O our God, drive out the inhabitants of this land before thy people Israel, and gavest it to the seed of
 8 Abraham thy friend for ever? And they dwelt therein, and have built thee a sanctuary therein for thy name, saying,
 9 If evil come upon us, the sword, judgement, or pestilence, or famine, we will stand before this house, and before thee, (for thy name is in this house,) and cry unto thee
 10 in our affliction, and thou wilt hear and save. And now, behold, the children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir, whom thou wouldest not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt, but they turned
 11 aside from them, and destroyed them not; behold, how they reward us, to come to cast us out of thy possession,
 12 which thou hast given us to inherit. O our God, wilt thou not judge them? for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we

from all the cities of the kingdom the people hasten to the capital to the national fast.

5. before the new court: we have no account of any additional buildings to the Temple, so that we conclude that the chronicler is indicating the spot occupied in his own day by 'the new court' and representing the 'great court' of Solomon's Temple (2 Chron. iv. 9).

6-12. Jehoshaphat's prayer is a narrative of the providence of God in the nation's past and a statement of present circumstances, closing with an appeal for divine help.

what to do : but our eyes are upon thee. And all Judah ¹³ stood before the LORD, with their little ones, their wives, and their children. Then upon Jahaziel the son of ¹⁴ Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, the Levite, of the sons of Asaph, came the spirit of the LORD in the midst of the congregation : and he said, Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants ¹⁵ of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat : thus saith the LORD unto you, Fear not ye, neither be dismayed by reason of this great multitude ; for the battle is not yours, but God's. To-morrow go ye down against them : behold, ¹⁶ they come up by the ascent of Ziz ; and ye shall find them at the end of the valley, before the wilderness of Jeruel. Ye shall not need to fight in this *battle* : set yourselves, ¹⁷ stand ye still, and see the salvation of the LORD with you, O Judah and Jerusalem : fear not, nor be dismayed : to-morrow go out against them ; for the LORD is with you. And Jehoshaphat bowed his head with his face to ¹⁸ the ground : and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell down before the LORD, worshipping the LORD. And the Levites, of the children of the Kohath- ¹⁹

13. all Judah stood before the LORD : i. e. in the attitude of supplication.

xx. 14-19. *The Response of Jehovah.*

14. Then upon Jahaziel . . . came the spirit of the LORD : God answered, not by fire as in the case of Solomon's prayer, but by the living voice of prophecy. From the assembled multitude stepped forth a Levite, a member of the guild of musicians, who delivered the promise of divine help. Jahaziel must have been a specially interesting character to the chronicler, to whose own class he belonged.

16. the ascent of Ziz : read 'the ascent of Hazziz.' It is not possible to absolutely identify either the ascent of Hazziz (although this is usually considered to be the Wādy Huṣṣa) or the wilderness of Jeruel. The direction indicated seems to be the north end of the Dead Sea, towards Tekoa.

19. The worship of the people, following the promise of

ites and of the children of the Korahites, stood up to praise the LORD, the God of Israel, with an exceeding
 20 loud voice. And they rose early in the morning, and went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa : and as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem ; believe in the LORD your God, so shall ye be established ; believe his
 21 prophets, so shall ye prosper. And when he had taken counsel with the people, he appointed them that should sing unto the LORD, and praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and say, Give thanks
 22 unto the LORD ; for his mercy *endureth* for ever. And when they began to sing and to praise, the LORD set liers in wait against the children of Ammon, Moab, and mount

deliverance, expresses itself in the music of the Levitic psalms. The chronicler's hand is evident in this.

xx. 20-30. *Jehovah's Deliverance.* While Judah was turning to prayer the power of Jehovah was working for their deliverance. The allied forces fall upon one another and work a mutual destruction. Judah subsequently arrives on the scene only to behold the results of the carnage and to collect the spoil.

20. The king exhorted the procession of the people to show a strong faith in Jehovah's promised deliverance. He probably stood at the city gate reviewing the march past.

21. The great procession is marshalled, with Levitic singers at its head, to advance with praise to the spot indicated by the prophet Jahaziel.

praise the beauty of holiness : read as R.V. margin, 'praise in the beauty of holiness,' as referring to the gorgeous robes of the singers.

and say, Give thanks, &c. : although the words occur only in Psalms usually reckoned as post-exilic (cvi, cvii, cxviii, and cxxxvi) they were probably found in earlier Hebrew psalmody.

22. **liers in wait :** who these were it is impossible to ascertain. The most probable conjecture regards them as some of the inhabitants of Mount Seir itself, who, greedy of spoil, set an ambush and by a sudden onset terrorized the armies. We see (verse 23) that the first result was that Ammon and Moab turned their arms against Seir (i. e. the Meunim) and then slaughtered one another.

Seir, which were come against Judah; and they were smitten. For the children of Ammon and Moab stood ²³ up against the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to slay and destroy them: and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy another. And when Judah came to the watch-tower of the ²⁴ wilderness, they looked upon the multitude; and, behold, they were dead bodies fallen to the earth, and there were none that escaped. And when Jehoshaphat and his ²⁵ people came to take the spoil of them, they found among them in abundance both riches and dead bodies, and precious jewels, which they stripped off for themselves, more than they could carry away: and they were three days in taking of the spoil, it was so much. And on the ²⁶ fourth day they assembled themselves in the valley of Beracah; for there they blessed the LORD: therefore the name of that place was called The valley of Beracah, unto this day. Then they returned, every man of Judah ²⁷ and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the forefront of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the LORD had made them to rejoice over their enemies. And they ²⁸ came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets unto the house of the LORD. And the fear of God was ²⁹

24. the watch-tower of the wilderness: probably the summit of the hills around Tekoa overlooking the plain of Jeruel, about ten miles south of Jerusalem. Below lay the scene of carnage.

25. riches and dead bodies: read with R. V. margin, 'riches and raiment.'

26. in the valley of Beracah: between Gedor and Tekoa, where a wady and a ruin still bear the name 'Bereikut.' Here the men of Judah regathered to praise Jehovah after three days spent in collecting the spoil; from this incident the spot received its name 'the valley of blessing,' and retained it until the time of the chronicler.

27. The people return to Jerusalem with songs of praise.

29. This remarkable deliverance so impressed the surrounding

on all the kingdoms of the countries, when they heard
 30 that the LORD fought against the enemies of Israel. So
 the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet: for his God gave
 him rest round about.

31 [H] And Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah: he was
 thirty and five years old when he began to reign; and
 he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem: and his
 32 mother's name was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi. And
 he walked in the way of Asa his father, and turned not
 aside from it, doing that which was right in the eyes of
 33 the LORD. Howbeit the high places were not taken
 away; neither as yet had the people set their hearts unto
 34 the God of their fathers. [Ch²] Now the rest of the acts
 of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in
 the history of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted
 in the book of the kings of Israel.

35 [Ch] And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah
 join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel; the same did

nations that none dared to make war on Judah during the remainder
 of Jehoshaphat's reign.

xx. 31-34. *Close of the Reign.* With this summary of the ideal
 reign of Jehoshaphat we may compare 1 Kings xxii. 41-43, 45-
 49.

33. the high places were not taken away: this seems to be
 a direct contradiction of the foregoing narratives of reform.
 Divergence of sources is very evident; and perhaps the chronicler
 never meant to harmonize the estimates, but merely to leave both
 accounts on record.

34. in the history of Jehu: cf. Introd. § iv.

xx. 35-37. *Mercantile Alliance with Ahaziah.* The account of
 the attempt to reopen the trade with Ophir is given here some-
 what differently from 1 Kings, although the so-called contra-
 dictions are perfectly explicable on the ground of incompleteness
 in both narratives. In 1 Kings Jehoshaphat first set himself to
 build ships independently, and when these were wrecked he
 refused to join Ahaziah in a second attempt. The chronicler
 represents the first attempt as being made in alliance with Ahaziah

very wickedly : [Ch²] and he joined himself with him to 36
make ships to go to Tarshish : and they made the ships
in Ezion-geber. [Ch] Then Eliezer the son of Dodavahu 37
of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying,
Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD
hath destroyed thy works. And the ships were broken,
that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

[H] And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was 21
buried with his fathers in the city of David : and Jehoram
his son reigned in his stead. [Ch] And he had brethren 2
the sons of Jehoshaphat, Azariah, and Jehiel, and
Zechariah, and Azariah, and Michael, and Shephatiah :
all these were the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Israel.
And their father gave them great gifts, of silver, and of gold, 3
and of precious things, with fenced cities in Judah : but
the kingdom gave he to Jehoram, because he was the
firstborn. Now when Jehoram was risen up over the 4
kingdom of his father, and had strengthened himself, he
slew all his brethren with the sword, and divers also of

and traces the disaster to the sin of that alliance. The changed
view-point fully accords with the chronicler's ideas of retribution.

36. to go to Tarshish : cf. note on ix. 21.

37. Eliezer : an otherwise unknown prophet.

(6) xxi. *Reign of Jehoram.*

Almost the entire material of this chapter is new to us ; but a
few verses are paralleled by Kings (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 50, 2 Kings
viii. 17-22, 24). Jehoram is conspicuously a bad king, as one
would expect of a son-in-law of Ahab. His reign opens with the
massacre of his brothers, and is a record of misdeeds, idolatry, and
revolution.

xxi. 1-4. *Opening of Jehoram's Reign.*

2. **Jehoshaphat king of Israel** : an unusual designation of a
king of Judah. Either we must read 'Judah,' or else trace the
title to the chronicler's habit of ignoring the northern kingdom.

4. **he slew all his brethren** : in this Jehoram acted in perfect

5 the princes of Israel. [H] Jehoram was thirty and two years old when he began to reign ; and he reigned eight
 6 years in Jerusalem. And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab : for he had the daughter of Ahab to wife : and he did that which
 7 was evil in the sight of the LORD. Howbeit the LORD would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that he had made with David, and as he promised to give a lamp to him and to his children
 8 alway. In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves. Then Jehoram passed over with his captains, and all his chariots with him : and he rose up by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him about, and the cap-
 10 tains of the chariots. So Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, unto this day : then did Libnah revolt at the same time from under his hand : because he had
 11 forsaken the LORD, the God of his fathers. [Ch] Moreover he made high places in the mountains of Judah, and made the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring,

harmony with the Oriental custom of removing possible claimants to the throne ; moreover, he had the precedent of Solomon.

xxi. 5-II. *Character of Jehoram's Reign.* The passage is parallel to 2 Kings viii. 17-22, with few alterations.

6. **the daughter of Ahab** : i. e. Athaliah ; cf. xxii. 2.

8. The revolt of Edom is a clear indication of Judah's declining power.

9. Jehoram attempted to reduce Edom by a night attack, but was himself surrounded. The disaster is implied rather than described.

10. **Libnah** : the site of this lowland fortress has not yet been identified. It must have been near Lachish, close to the Philistine borders.

because he had forsaken the LORD : the chronicler adds this comment to the narrative of 1 Kings.

11. The idolatrous proclivities of Jehoram led to an actual revival of the worship at the illicit high-places.

and led Judah astray. And there came a writing to him ¹² from Elijah the prophet, saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy father, Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat thy father, nor in the ways of Asa king of Judah; but hast walked in the way ¹³ of the kings of Israel, and hast made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring, like as the house of Ahab did; and also hast slain thy brethren of thy father's house, which were better than thyself: behold, ¹⁴ the LORD will smite with a great plague thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy substance: and ¹⁵ thou shalt have great sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness, day by day. And the LORD stirred up against Jehoram the ¹⁶ spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians which are beside the Ethiopians: and they came up against Judah, ¹⁷ and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and

xxi. 12-19. *Elijah's Letter.* There is considerable difficulty in connexion with this letter of Elijah to Jehoram. If the narrative of 2 Kings is in chronological order, Elijah had been dead some time, for the account of his translation is given between the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah of Israel, i. e. at least four years before the accession of Jehoram of Judah. But no date is mentioned, and it would be far from wise to insist upon the chronological accuracy of the author of Kings. Hence, if we accept the chronicler's narrative, we must assume that Elijah lived some years beyond the period which seems to be indicated for his translation by the author of Kings. There is, therefore, no need to change the name to Elisha or to regard the narrative as a late invention.

12. Elijah the prophet: with the exception of this incident, the chronicler entirely ignores the existence of the great prophets of the northern kingdom. The letter here referred to pointed out Jehoram's sins and threatened punishment upon his realm and himself.

17. in the king's house: this does not necessarily imply the sack of Jerusalem, for, had that occurred, it would surely have been specially mentioned.

his wives ; so that there was never a son left him, save
 18 Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons. And after all this
 the LORD smote him in his bowels with an incurable
 19 disease. And it came to pass, in process of time, at the
 end of two years, that his bowels fell out by reason of his
 sickness, and he died of sore diseases. And his people
 made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.
 20 Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign,
 and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years : and he departed
 without being desired ; and they buried him in the city
 of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

22 And the inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah his
 youngest son king in his stead : for the band of men that
 came with the Arabians to the camp had slain all the
 eldest. So Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah
 2 reigned. [H] Forty and two years old was Ahaziah
 when he began to reign ; and he reigned one year in
 Jerusalem : and his mother's name was Athaliah the

19. Whatever the disease was, it was incurable and was regarded as a retribution on a wicked reign.

20. **departed without being desired**: a very obscure phrase which may be rendered 'he behaved so as to please no one' (Bennett). The character of his reign is well shown by the refusal of the people to bury him in the royal tombs.

(7) xxii-xxiii. *Ahaziah and Athaliah.*

xxii. 1-9. *Reign of Ahaziah.* The narrative of Ahaziah's uneventful reign finds its parallel in 2 Kings viii. 26-29. The main differences lie in the characteristic comments made by the chronicler and in the abbreviation of the account of the king's death.

1. **Ahaziah**: 843 B. C. In xxi. 17 he is called Jehoahaz.

slain all the eldest: the meaning seems to be that a scouting party of the invaders described in xxi. 16, 17 had surprised the camp of Judah and slain the royal princes.

2. **Forty and two years old**: an evident orthographical error for 'twenty and two.' Cf. ■ Kings viii. 26.

Athaliah the daughter of Omri: i. e. 'grand-daughter,' as in R. V. margin.

daughter of Omri. He also walked in the ways of the 3
house of Ahab: for his mother was his counsellor to do
wickedly. And he did that which was evil in the sight 4
of the LORD, as did the house of Ahab: for they were
his counsellors after the death of his father, to his
destruction. He walked also after their counsel, and 5
went with Jehoram the son of Ahab king of Israel to war
against Hazael king of Syria at Ramoth-gilead: and the
Syrians wounded Joram. And he returned to be healed 6
in Jezreel of the wounds which they had given him at
Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria.
And Azariah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went
down to see Jehoram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because
he was sick. [Ch] Now the destruction of Ahaziah was 7
of God, in that he went unto Joram: for when he was
come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of
Nimshi, whom the LORD had anointed to cut off the
house of Ahab. And it came to pass, when Jehu was 8
executing judgement upon the house of Ahab, that he
found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren
of Ahaziah, ministering to Ahaziah, and slew them.
And he sought Ahaziah, and they caught him, (now he 9
was hiding in Samaria,) and they brought him to Jehu,
and slew him; and they buried him, for they said, He is
the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the LORD with all

6. Jezreel: the modern Zer'in on the high ground near Gilboa.
Azariah: read Ahaziah.

7-9. The death of Ahaziah is much more concisely narrated than in 2 Kings ix, where the conspiracy of Jehu is given in detail. The chronicler contents himself with indicating the fact that divine retribution was displayed in the tragedy which Jehu enacted.

8. the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah: this is a more exact expression of the relationship than that of 2 Kings x. 12-14.

his heart. And the house of Ahaziah had no power to hold the kingdom.

- 10 [H] Now when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the
 11 seed royal of the house of Judah. But Jehoshabeath, the daughter of the king, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him away from among the king's sons that were slain, and put him and his nurse in the bedchamber. [Ch²] So Jehoshabeath, the daughter of king Jehoram, the wife of Jehoiada the priest, (for she was the sister of Ahaziah,) hid him from Athaliah, so that she slew him
 12 not. [H] And he was with them hid in the house of God six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.
 23 [Ch²] And in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened himself, and took the captains of hundreds, Azariah the

xxii. 10-12. *Athaliah's Usurpation.* Cf. 2 Kings xi. 1-3. The queen-mother, on hearing of Ahaziah's death, made good her own position by extirpating all the royal princes. The one aim of this strong and determined princess was to perpetuate in the southern kingdom the supremacy of northern Israel and the policy of Omri's house, reducing Judah to a kind of southern dependency. She reigned from 843 to 837 B. C.

11. **Jehoshabeath:** a royal princess and also the wife of the high-priest.

xxiii. *Overthrow of Athaliah's Tyranny.*

The high-priest kept Joash, the sole survivor of the royal princes, in hiding for six years, carefully watching for his opportunity of overthrowing the despotism of the queen-mother. Athaliah had been the evil genius of her son Ahaziah, and her regency was of such a nature as to promote revolutionary tendencies. Hence, on the given signal, the coronation of Joash, the death of Athaliah, and the overthrow of the worship of Baal were successfully accomplished. The whole chapter should be carefully compared with 2 Kings xi. 4-20 as an illustration of the chronicler's different reading of history as compared with that of the author of Kings.

1. **the captains:** the fact that the chronicler gives the names of five of the captains implies that other sources of information than 2 Kings xi were accessible to him.

son of Jeroham, and Ishmael the son of Jehohanan, and Azariah the son of Obed, and Maaseiah the son of Adaiah, and Elishaphat the son of Zichri, into covenant with him. And they went about in Judah, and gathered the 2 Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the heads of fathers' *houses* of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem. And all the congregation made a covenant with the king 3 in the house of God. And he said unto them, Behold, the king's son shall reign, as the LORD hath spoken concerning the sons of David. This is the thing that ye 4 shall do: a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters of the doors; and a third part shall be at the king's house; and 5 a third part at the gate of the foundation: and all the people shall be in the courts of the house of the LORD. But let none come into the house of the LORD, 6 save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites;

2. gathered the Levites: the chronicler characteristically omits all mention of 'the Carites' (2 Kings xi. 4) and lays stress on the part played by the Levites in the revolution. But, as Keil observes, the discrepancies which seem thus to be introduced disappear if it be assumed that the authors of Kings and Chronicles are both making selections from a fuller common source. Their narratives are mutually complementary rather than contradictory.

4, 5. It is impossible, with our present knowledge, to solve with certainty the question of the location of the guards and equally difficult to harmonize the terminology of 2 Kings and our narrative. The moment chosen for action was the time of the changing of the guard. The guard was to be so disposed as to secure the young king within the Temple enclosure. As to the difficulties of reconciling the narratives of Kings and Chronicles, the best solution seems to be that of Keil: 'Both accounts mention merely the main points of the proceedings:—the author of the Book of Kings emphasizes the part played in the affair by the royal body-guard; the author of the Chronicles, on the other hand, emphasizes that played by the Levites: so that both accounts mutually supplement each other, and only when taken together give a full account of the circumstances.'

they shall come in, for they are holy : but all the people
 7 shall keep the watch of the LORD. [H] And the Levites
 shall compass the king round about, every man with his
 weapons in his hand ; and whosoever cometh into the
 house, let him be slain : and be ye with the king when
 8 he cometh in, and when he goeth out. So the Levites
 and all Judah did according to all that Jehoiada the
 priest commanded : and they took every man his men,
 those that were to come in on the sabbath, with those
 that were to go out on the sabbath ; for Jehoiada the
 9 priest dismissed not the courses. And Jehoiada the
 priest delivered to the captains of hundreds the spears,
 and bucklers, and shields, that had been king David's,
 10 which were in the house of God. And he set all the
 people, every man with his weapon in his hand, from the
 right side of the house to the left side of the house, along
 by the altar and the house, by the king round about.
 11 Then they brought out the king's son, and put the crown
 upon him, and *gave him* the testimony, and made him
 king : and Jehoiada and his sons anointed him ; and
 12 they said, God save the king. And when Athaliah heard
 the noise of the people running and praising the king, she
 13 came to the people into the house of the LORD : and she
 looked, and, behold, the king stood by his pillar at the
 entrance, and the captains and the trumpets by the
 king ; and all the people of the land rejoiced, and blew
 with trumpets ; the singers also *played* on instruments of

6. the people shall keep the watch of the LORD : i. e. perform the appointed acts of worship in the court reserved for them.

11. the testimony : the roll of the Law was put into the young king's hand as part of the regalia.

God save the king : literally 'let the king live.'

13. by his pillar at the entrance : this seems to indicate the porch of the Temple, where stood the pillars Jachin and Boaz.

music, and led the singing of praise. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Treason, treason. And Jehoiada ¹⁴ the priest brought out the captains of hundreds that were set over the host, and said unto them, Have her forth between the ranks; and whoso followeth her, let him be slain with the sword: for the priest said, Slay her not in the house of the LORD. So they made way for her; and ¹⁵ she went to the entry of the horse gate to the king's house: and they slew her there.

And Jehoiada made a covenant between himself, and ¹⁶ all the people, and the king, that they should be the LORD's people. And all the people went to the house of ¹⁷ Baal, and brake it down, and brake his altars and his images in pieces, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars. [Ch²] And Jehoiada appointed the offices of ¹⁸ the house of the LORD under the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as it is written in the law of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, according to the order of David. And he set ¹⁹ the porters at the gates of the house of the LORD, that none which was unclean in any thing should enter in. And he took the captains of hundreds, and the nobles, ²⁰

15. the horse gate: the queen-regent met her death at that gate of the palace which was used by the mounted guard.

16. between himself, and all the people: i. e. as the priestly representative of Jehovah. The mention of the political covenant (2 Kings xi. 17) is omitted; it is only the religious compact with Jehovah that is stressed by the chronicler.

17. went to the house of Baal: after the slaughter of Athaliah the natural course was the overthrow of the illicit rites she had introduced from northern Israel.

18, 19. The reorganization of the Temple services receives much fuller attention than in 2 Kings.

20, 21. A military and civic procession escorts the young king

and the governors of the people, and all the people of the land, and brought down the king from the house of the LORD: and they came through the upper gate unto the king's house, and set the king upon the throne of the
 21 kingdom. So all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the sword.
 24 [H] Joash was seven years old when he began to reign; and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem: and his
 2 mother's name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And Joash did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD all the
 3 days of Jehoiada the priest. [Ch] And Jehoiada took for him two wives; and he begat sons and daughters.
 4 And it came to pass after this, that Joash was minded
 5 to restore the house of the LORD. And he gathered together the priests and the Levites, and said to them, Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of all Israel money to repair the house of your God from year to year, and see that ye hasten the matter. Howbeit the

to the palace to complete the act of enthronement. National rejoicing follows the complete success of the revolution.

(8) xxiv. *Reign of Joash.*

The reign of Joash covered a period of over forty years, 837 to 798 B. C.; yet we have here merely the narrative of the repair of the Temple and the campaign against Syria. The facts narrated are paralleled by 2 Kings xi. 21—xii. 14 and xii. 17—21 with additions of detail and also with considerable omissions.

xxiv. 1-3. *Introductory.*

2. The chronicler is stating the fact that Joash persevered in a path of loyalty to Jehovah only so long as Jehoiada was high-priest. The king had learned to assert his independence, however, by his thirtieth year: cf. verse 6 and 2 Kings xii. 6.

xxiv. 4-14. *Repair of the Temple.* The fabric of the Temple had somehow been allowed to fall into disrepair. Consequently the king instituted a new system for the collection and outlay of the dues and the voluntary offerings. This incident should be compared with Josiah's action narrated in 2 Kings xxii. 3 ff.

Levites hastened it not. [Ch²] And the king called for 6
 Jehoiada the chief, and said unto him, Why hast thou
 not required of the Levites to bring in out of Judah and
 out of Jerusalem the tax of Moses the servant of the
 LORD, and of the congregation of Israel, for the tent of
 the testimony? For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked 7
 woman, had broken up the house of God; and also all
 the dedicated things of the house of the LORD did they
 bestow upon the Baalim. So the king commanded, and 8
 they made a chest, and set it without at the gate of the
 house of the LORD. And they made a proclamation 9
 through Judah and Jerusalem, to bring in for the LORD
 the tax that Moses the servant of God laid upon Israel in
 the wilderness. And all the princes and all the people 10
 rejoiced, and brought in, and cast into the chest, until
 they had made an end. And it was so, that at what time 11
 the chest was brought unto the king's office by the hand

5. the Levites hastened it not: i.e. the royal commands were not carried out.

6. the tax of Moses: the chronicler, desirous of guarding against the misconception that the priestly dues were being wrongly applied, omits the ambiguous phrase of 2 Kings, and insists that there had been a neglect to raise the poll-tax which Moses had originally instituted for the repair of the Tabernacle (cf. Exod. xxx. 11-16).

7. the sons of Athaliah: all the sons of Jehoram had been massacred when the king was some thirty-seven years of age; hence they must have been quite youths when they raided the Temple in favour of the Baals.

8. set it without at the gate: in 2 Kings xii. 9 it is said to have been placed beside the altar. The probability is that the chronicler has not only felt the incongruity of this, but has also preserved the correct reading. In fact, Klostermann would emend 2 Kings to read 'near the southern doorpost.'

9. made a proclamation: the income for the renovation of the Temple was henceforth to consist solely of voluntary gifts.

11. unto the king's office: the meaning is brought out in the margin, viz. a Levitic commission had the oversight of all the moneys.

of the Levites, and when they saw that there was much money, the king's scribe and the chief priest's officer came and emptied the chest, and took it, and carried it to its place again. Thus they did day by day, and
 12 gathered money in abundance. And the king and Jehoiada gave it to such as did the work of the service of the house of the LORD; and they hired masons and carpenters to restore the house of the LORD, and also such as wrought iron and brass to repair the house of the
 13 LORD. So the workmen wrought, and the work was perfected by them, and they set up the house of God in
 14 its state, and strengthened it. And when they had made an end, they brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for the house of the LORD, even vessels to minister, and to offer withal, and spoons, and vessels of gold and silver. And they offered burnt offerings in the house of the LORD
 15 continually all the days of Jehoiada. [Ch] But Jehoiada waxed old and was full of days, and he died; an hundred
 16 and thirty years old was he when he died. And they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, and toward God and his

12. they hired masons and carpenters: this throws light upon the extent to which the Temple fabric had decayed.

14. all the days of Jehoiada: the phrase is evidence that the high-priest's influence alone determined the ecclesiastical policy of the king and kept him loyal to Jehovah.

xxiv. 15-22. *Religious Decline.* This section is peculiar to Chronicles. Its substance is such as to explain the national decay. Jehoiada dies, the people apostatize, the disapproval of Jehovah is made known.

16. buried him . . . among the kings: as became a priest allied by marriage to royalty, the prime mover in a national revolution, and, thereafter, the lifelong director of the royal polity. While he is so prominent in this narrative, it is specially note-

house. Now after the death of Jehoiada came the 17
 princes of Judah, and made obeisance to the king.
 Then the king hearkened unto them. And they forsook 18
 the house of the LORD, the God of their fathers, and
 served the Asherim and the idols: and wrath came upon
 Judah and Jerusalem for this their guiltiness. Yet he 19
 sent prophets to them, to bring them again unto the
 LORD; and they testified against them: but they would
 not give ear. And the spirit of God came upon Zechariah 20
 the son of Jehoiada the priest; and he stood above the
 people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why
 transgress ye the commandments of the LORD, that ye
 cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the LORD, he
 hath also forsaken you. And they conspired against him, 21
 and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the
 king in the court of the house of the LORD. Thus Joash 22
 the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada
 his father had done to him, but slew his son. And when
 he died, he said, The LORD look upon it, and require it.

worthy that his name does not occur in the list of high-priests given in 1 Chron. vi. 1-15.

17. the king hearkened: like a later Rehoboam he allowed himself to be swayed by evil councillors. What the princes sought and obtained appears from verse 18.

19. Yet he sent prophets: Jehovah's anger with apostasy did not prevent His grace. As always, He was 'a just God and a Saviour.'

20. the spirit of God came upon: literally, 'clothed himself with.'

Zechariah: the royal favour should have been extended towards the son of the man to whom the king owed his throne.

above the people: the inner court, whence he addressed the crowds (cf. verse 21), was raised above the level of the outer court.

22. The LORD ... require it: Zechariah-ben-Jehoiada became one of the martyr-prophets; but his last prayer was for vengeance. This is the man named in Matt. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51.

- 23 And it came to pass at the end of the year, that the army of the Syrians came up against him: and they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people, and sent all the spoil
- 24 of them unto the king of Damascus. For the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men; and the LORD delivered a very great host into their hand, because they had forsaken the LORD, the God of their fathers. So
- 25 they executed judgement upon Joash. [Ch²] And when they were departed from him, (for they left him in great diseases,) his own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres
- 26 of the kings. And these are they that conspired against him; Zabad the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and
- 27 Jehozabad the son of Shimrith the Moabitess. Now concerning his sons, and the greatness of the burdens *laid* upon him, and the rebuilding of the house of God, behold, they are written in the commentary of the book of the kings. And Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

xxiv. 23-26. *The Syrian Campaign.* The result of apostasy was seen in the defeat of Joash by the Syrian invader, Hazael. Cf. 2 Kings xii. 17 ff., where Joash buys off the invader with the Temple treasures, whereas here the capital is represented as being plundered.

23, 24. the army of the Syrians: the invader was Hazael, who had previously reduced Gath (cf. 2 Kings). The chronicler points out that the Syrian army was small in numbers, but successful as a Heaven-sent scourge.

25. they left him in great diseases: i. e. the king was badly wounded.

sons of Jehoiada: read 'son' with LXX.

27. the commentary of the book of the kings: i. e. the midrash; cf. Introd. § iv.

[H] Amaziah was twenty and five years old when he **25** began to reign ; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem ; and his mother's name was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes ² of the LORD, but not with a perfect heart. Now it came ³ to pass, when the kingdom was established unto him, that he slew his servants which had killed the king his father. But he put not their children to death, but did ⁴ according to that which is written in the law in the book of Moses, as the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not die for the children, neither shall the children die for the fathers ; but every man shall die for his own sin. [Ch] Moreover Amaziah gathered Judah together, ⁵ and ordered them according to their fathers' houses, under captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, even all Judah and Benjamin : and he numbered them from

(9) xxv. *Reign of Amaziah.*

The reign of Amaziah (798-790 B. C.) is one more illustration of a fair beginning, rewarded with power and success, giving place to religious declension and its inevitable sequel of disaster. The facts narrated are found also in *2 Kings* xiv, but the narrative of the Edomite campaign is found solely in *Chronicles*.

xxv. 1-4. *Introductory.*

1. Amaziah. For a full discussion of the chronology of the Hebrew kings we must refer the student to the *Century Bible* on 'Kings' (by Skinner), pp. 38-47. Suffice it to say that it is only possible to harmonize the statements in *Kings* by radical emendation. Among the changes necessitated is the reduction of the length of Amaziah's reign by twenty years.

2. not with a perfect heart: the author of *Kings* says that he allowed the worship at the high-places to continue.

4. in the law in the book of Moses: cf. *Deut.* xxiv. 10.

xxv. 5-13. *Edomite Campaign.* Edom had revolted under Jehoram, and had maintained its independence in spite of that monarch's efforts to reduce it (cf. *2 Kings* viii. 20-22). How far Amaziah succeeded in achieving the same object is not stated.

twenty years old and upward, and found them three hundred thousand chosen men, able to go forth to war, 6 that could handle spear and shield. He hired also an hundred thousand mighty men of valour out of Israel for 7 an hundred talents of silver. But there came a man of God to him, saying, O king, let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the LORD is not with Israel, *to wit*, with all 8 the children of Ephraim. But if thou wilt go, do *valiantly*, be strong for the battle: God shall cast thee down before the enemy; for God hath power to help, and to cast 9 down. And Amaziah said to the man of God, But what shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to the army of Israel? And the man of God answered, The 10 LORD is able to give thee much more than this. Then Amaziah separated them, *to wit*, the army that was come to him out of Ephraim, to go home again: wherefore 11 their anger was greatly kindled against Judah, and they returned home in fierce anger. And Amaziah took courage, and led forth his people, and went to the Valley of Salt, and smote of the children of Seir ten thousand. 12 And *other* ten thousand did the children of Judah carry away alive, and brought them unto the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they 13 all were broken in pieces. But the men of the army

5. three hundred thousand chosen men: Joash had 1,160,000 warriors in his day; the shrinkage is remarkable if the former figures be correct.

6. hired . . . men of valour out of Israel: this use of mercenaries, and the making of alliances with unhallowed powers, were invariably condemned by the prophets as signs of a want of faith in Jehovah.

8. God shall cast thee down: i. e. if he persisted in relying upon the northern mercenaries.

11. the Valley of Salt: south of the Dead Sea; cf. note on 1 Chron. xviii. 12.

which Amaziah sent back, that they should not go with him to battle, fell upon the cities of Judah, from Samaria even unto Beth-horon, and smote of them three thousand, and took much spoil.

Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come ¹⁴ from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them. Wherefore the anger of the LORD ¹⁵ was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, which said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which have not delivered their own people out of thine hand? And it came to pass, as ¹⁶ he talked with him, that *the king* said unto him, Have we made thee of the king's counsel? forbear; why shouldest thou be smitten? Then the prophet forbore, and said, I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this, and hast not hearkened unto my counsel.

[H] Then Amaziah king of Judah took advice, and ¹⁷

13. from Samaria even unto Beth-horon: probably the chronicler employs the words according to the usage of his own day, so that Samaria refers to the northern kingdom, not to the city. The irate Israelite mercenaries, angered by the loss of the chance of plundering Edom, took advantage of Amaziah's absence and plundered Judah instead.

xxv. 14-16. *Apostasy.* The victory over Edom proved a religious disaster to Amaziah in that he became a devotee of the gods of Edom.

15. The folly as well as the sin of this apostasy is what the prophet insists upon. Jehovah had given Amaziah the victory; yet the king transferred his allegiance to the gods who had proved useless to Edom. The chronicler is writing midrash here.

xxv. 17-24. *War with Joash of Israel.* Amaziah is elated with his victory over Edom, and probably stung by the action of the dismissed mercenaries. He, consequently, challenges Joash to battle, but receives a contemptuous parabolic response. Eventually,

sent to Joash, the son of Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let us look one another in the
 18 face. And Joash king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife : and there passed by a wild beast that
 19 was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle. Thou sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten Edom ; and thine heart lifteth thee up to boast : abide now at home ; why shouldst thou meddle to *thy* hurt, that thou shouldst
 20 fall, even thou, and Judah with thee ? But Amaziah would not hear ; for it was of God, that he might deliver them into the hand of *their enemies*, because they had
 21 sought after the gods of Edom. So Joash king of Israel went up ; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Beth-shemesh, which belongeth to
 22 Judah. And Judah was put to the worse before Israel ;
 23 and they fled every man to his tent. And Joash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Joash the son of Jehoahaz, at Beth-shemesh, and brought him to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred
 24 cubits. And *he took* all the gold and silver, and all the

Amaziah meets with ■ severe defeat at Beth-shemesh, is taken prisoner, and suffers the dismantling of the fortifications of his capital. The narrative agrees almost verbally with 2 Kings xiv. 8-14.

17. look one another in the face : an ambiguous challenge to battle.

18. The parable of Joash is a rebuke of Amaziah's insolence.

19. meddle to thy hurt : margin, ' provoke calamity.'

20. for it was of God : this is the chronicler's original comment on the facts which he borrows from 2 Kings.

23. Jehoahaz : i. e. Ahaziah ; cf. note on xxi. 17.

the gate of Ephraim : probably in the north wall.

vessels that were found in the house of God with Obed-edom, and the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.

And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived 25 after the death of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen years. Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, first 26 and last, behold, are they not written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel? Now from the time that 27 Amaziah did turn away from following the LORD they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to Lachish: but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew him there. And they brought him upon horses, and 28 buried him with his fathers in the city of Judah.

And all the people of Judah took Uzziah, who was 26 sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his father Amaziah. He built Eloth, and restored it to 2 Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers. Sixteen 3

24. Obed-edom: the guardian of the sacred vessels.

xxv. 25-28. *Conclusion of the Reign.* Amaziah retained his throne, in spite of his defeat by Joash, until the results of his evil rule led to a conspiracy which resulted in his assassination.

25. fifteen years: cf. note on verse 1.

26. in the book of the kings: cf. Introd. § iv.

27. Lachish: the modern Tell-el-Hasi in the Shephēlah.

(10) xxvi. *Reign of Uzziah.*

Of the material used in the account of Uzziah's reign, verses 1-4 and 21-23 are found in 2 Kings xiv. 21 ff. and xv. 2-7; but verses 5-20 are peculiar to the chronicler. The reign was a long one, and the new matter of our chapter shows that it was marked by a wise policy of development at home and by successful military undertakings. During part of Uzziah's reign the prophet Isaiah performed his ministry in Jerusalem; and he bears testimony to the monarch's greatness (cf. Isa. ii-iv).

xxvi. 1-5. *Introductory.*

1. Uzziah: called Azariah in 2 Kings.

2. he built Eloth: evidently Uzziah rebuilt the sea-port which his father had captured but had been unable to fortify.

years old was Uzziah when he began to reign; and he reigned fifty and two years in Jerusalem: and his
 4 mother's name was Jechiliah of Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, according
 5 to all that his father Amaziah had done. [Ch] And he set himself to seek God in the days of Zechariah, who had understanding in the vision of God: and as long as he
 6 sought the LORD, God made him to prosper. [H²] And he went forth and warred against the Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod; and he built cities in *the country*
 7 *of* Ashdod, and among the Philistines. [Ch] And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Ara-
 8 bians that dwelt in Gur-baal, and the Meunim. [H²] And the Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah: [Ch] and his name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt; for
 9 he waxed exceeding strong. [H²] Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning *of the wall*, and fortified
 10 them. And he built towers in the wilderness, and hewed

3. The reign should be dated 790-749 B. C.

5. **Zechariah, who had understanding in the vision of God:** read with R. V. margin, 'who gave instruction in the seeing of God'; this is borne out by LXX, Syr., Arab., Targum, &c. Zechariah, otherwise unknown, must have been a prophet of importance; he held a position of influence analogous to that of Jehoiada under Joash.

xxvi. 6-10. *Military and Civil Activities.* The result of Uzziah's fidelity to Jehovah is traced by the chronicler in successful campaigns, growing power, and national prosperity.

6. The Philistines were brought under the suzerainty of Judah and their land colonized. **Jabneh** is the modern Jebneh, south of Joppa. The material is clearly historic and trustworthy.

7. **Gur-baal:** otherwise unknown.

Meunim: cf. note on xx. 1.

9. Jerusalem was fortified by towers at the north-west corner of the wall and at the spot where the Jaffa gate now stands,

out many cisterns, for he had much cattle ; in the lowland also, and in the plain: *and he had* husbandmen and vinedressers in the mountains and in the fruitful fields ; for he loved husbandry. [Ch] Moreover Uzziah had an ¹¹ army of fighting men, that went out to war by bands, according to the number of their reckoning made by Jeiel the scribe and Maaseiah the officer, under the hand of Hananiah, one of the king's captains. The whole number ¹² of the heads of fathers' *houses*, even the mighty men of valour, was two thousand and six hundred. And under ¹³ their hand was a trained army, three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy. And ¹⁴ Uzziah prepared for them, even for all the host, shields, and spears, and helmets, and coats of mail, and bows, and stones for slinging. And he made in Jerusalem engines, ¹⁵ invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the battlements, to shoot arrows and great stones withal. And his name spread far abroad ; for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong.

But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up so that ¹⁶ he did corruptly, and he trespassed against the LORD his

10. in the lowland : i. e. the Shephelah.

in the plain : i. e. the district east of the Dead Sea.

he loved husbandry : this explains the national development.

xxvi. 11-15. National progress was equally marked in military matters, and, for the first time in Hebrew history, we find the king possessing elaborate, if primitive, artillery.

15. to shoot arrows and great stones : artillery resembling the Roman catapulta and ballista.

xxvi. 16-23. *Period of Decay.* Uzziah's reign closes with a conflict with the priests, in which the ecclesiastical power prevails. Royal apostasy is, as usual, followed by declining power.

16. he trespassed : Uzziah's sin was a defiance of the law and a usurpation of the rights of the priesthood.

God; for he went into the temple of the LORD to
17 burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the
priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of
18 the LORD, that were valiant men: and they withstood
Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It pertaineth not
unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the LORD, but to
the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to
burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast
trespassed; neither shall it be for thine honour from the
19 LORD God. Then Uzziah was wroth; and he had a
censer in his hand to burn incense; and while he was
wroth with the priests, the leprosy brake forth in his
forehead before the priests in the house of the LORD,
20 beside the altar of incense. And Azariah the chief priest,
and all the priests, looked upon him, and, behold, he was
leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out quickly
from thence; yea, himself hasted also to go out, because
21 the LORD had smitten him. [H] And Uzziah the king
was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a
several house, being a leper; for he was cut off from the
house of the LORD: and Jotham his son was over
22 the king's house, judging the people of the land. Now
the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the
23 prophet, the son of Amoz, write. So Uzziah slept with
his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the
field of burial which belonged to the kings; for they

17. Azariah: the high-priest had the courage to beard the king. Probably this Azariah is the same as the high-priest named in 1 Chron. vi. 36.

21. dwelt in a several house: he was isolated and possibly also deposed from the throne. It seems probable that Jotham exercised a regency during the last eleven years of his father's life (cf. Skinner on 'Kings,' *Century Bible*, § 8).

22. Isaiah the prophet: cf. Isa. ii-iv.

said, He is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

Jotham was twenty and five years old when he began **27** to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jerushah the daughter of Zadok. And he did that which was right in the eyes of **2** the LORD, according to all that his father Uzziah had done: howbeit he entered not into the temple of the LORD. And the people did yet corruptly. He built the **3** upper gate of the house of the LORD, and on the wall of Ophel he built much. [H²] Moreover he built cities **4** in the hill country of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers. He fought also with the king of the **5** children of Ammon, and prevailed against them. And the children of Ammon gave him the same year an

(II) xxvii. *Reign of Jotham.*

Another pious king occupied the Jewish throne in the person of Jotham. He is represented as zealous for the Temple and for the strength of his cities; he was loyal to Jehovah and successful in war, continuing the policy of his father. The chronicler has found his material partly in 2 Kings xv. 33-35 and 38 and partly in records now non-extant.

xxvii. 1-4. *Introductory.*

1. Jotham: we may date his reign at 739-736 B. C., remembering, however, that he had already exercised the regency during eleven years of his father's lifetime. During this reign Isaiah and Micah continued their prophetic careers.

2. the people did yet corruptly: the phrase seems to indicate the prevalence of impiety and impurity.

3. the upper gate: so little is known of the gates of Solomon's Temple that it is impossible with confidence to locate this work of Jotham. The probability is that it was identical with the 'upper gate of Benjamin' mentioned in Jer. xx. 2, and was situated in the north wall of the inner court.

on the wall of Ophel: the chronicler alone informs us of Jotham's work on this wall. Ophel is the name of the southern spur of Mount Moriah (cf. Neh. iii. 26, 27).

5, 6. Jotham's Wars. Jotham subdued Ammon, which seems

- hundred talents of silver, and ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley. So much did the children of Ammon render unto him, in the second year
 6 also, and in the third. [Ch] So Jotham became mighty, because he ordered his ways before the LORD his God.
 7 [H] Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars, and his ways, behold, they are written in the book of the
 8 kings of Israel and Judah. He was five and twenty years old when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in
 9 Jerusalem. And Jotham slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.
- 28 Ahaz was twenty years old when he began to reign;

to have revolted on the death of Uzziah (cf. xxvi. 8), and held the territory during three years. Other military successes are hinted at in verse 7, 'all his wars.'

7. in the book of the kings: cf. *Introd.* § iv.

(12) xxviii. *Reign of Ahaz.*

Considerable new matter has been added here to the record of the reign found in 2 Kings xvi. 2-17, 20. Ahaz is an example of the wicked kings. Following three able and devout monarchs who had ruled with success amid great prosperity during seventy years, Ahaz wilfully apostatized and, for some unknown reasons, imitated the house of Israel. As a result there occurred great military disasters at the hands of invaders. First Syria defeated Judah and carried away numerous captives. Then Samaria played the part of the divine scourge, and a still greater captivity was averted only by the interposition of a prophet of Jehovah. This chastisement failed to change Ahaz, and therefore further disasters were suffered at the hands of the Edomites and of the Philistines. In these circumstances Ahaz robbed the Temple to purchase the help of Assyria, and the way was thus prepared for the great Captivity. The reign, however, closed in final apostasy and disaster. The whole chapter is rhetorical and its material is used with great effect to point the lessons which the chronicler desires to draw from history.

xxviii. 1-4. *Introductory.*

1. Ahaz: the reign should be dated 735-720 B. C. The LXX and Syriac give his age as twenty-five at the time of his accession.

and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did not that which was right in the eyes of the LORD; like David his father: but he walked in the ways of ² the kings of Israel, and made also molten images for the Baalim. Moreover he burnt incense in the valley of the ³ son of Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out before the children of Israel. And he ⁴ sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree. [Ch²] Where- ⁵ fore the LORD his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away of his a great multitude of captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter. [Ch] For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in ⁶ Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, all of

2. in the ways of the kings of Israel: no reason is assigned for this apostasy; possibly he may have had an idolatrous mother, as was the case with Ahaziah.

3. the valley of the son of Hinnom: this was some spot in the three valleys of Jerusalem, and probably received its name from religious reasons. Among the idolatrous rites practised there under Ahaz was that of passing the children through the fire—a rite somehow connected with child-sacrifice.

4. he sacrificed: the king set the practice of idolatry personally. xxviii. 5-15. *Syro-Ephraimitic War.* This war is represented directly as a Heaven-sent chastisement. The paralysing fear which it occasioned is well described in Isaiah vii.

5. the king of Syria: from 2 Kings xvi. 5 we learn that this was Rezin, who had already become a tributary of Tiglath-pileser in 738 B. C. Through this war Judah lost the port of Elath (2 Kings xvi. 6).

6. Pekah: king of Israel from 735 to 732 B. C. In one decisive battle he slew 120,000 men of Judah, and among them three prominent officials of the palace, including Maaseiah, a relative of the king. The figures are very large, but are not incredible for the fierce tribal wars of their age. The bitterness of the conflict is described in verse 9 as 'a rage which reached to heaven.'

them valiant men ; because they had forsaken the LORD,
7 the God of their fathers. And Zichri, a mighty man
of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam
the ruler of the house, and Elkanah that was next to the
8 king. And the children of Israel carried away captive of
their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and
daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and
9 brought the spoil to Samaria. But a prophet of the
LORD was there, whose name was Oded : and he went out
to meet the host that came to Samaria, and said unto
them, Behold, because the LORD, the God of your fathers,
was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your
hand, and ye have slain them in a rage which hath
10 reached up unto heaven. And now ye purpose to keep
under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen
and bondwomen unto you : *but* are there not even with
you trespasses of your own against the LORD your God ?
11 Now hear me therefore, and send back the captives,
which ye have taken captive of your brethren : for the
12 fierce wrath of the LORD is upon you. Then certain
of the heads of the children of Ephraim, Azariah the son
of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, and
Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of
Hadlai, stood up against them that came from the war,
13 and said unto them, Ye shall not bring in the captives
hither : for ye purpose that which will bring upon us
a trespass against the LORD, to add unto our sins and to

9. Oded : it is interesting to find a genuine prophet of Jehovah in Samaria. Evidently the work of Elijah lingered still. The prophet reminds the victors that their cruelty calls for divine vengeance and bids them send the captives back to their homes.

12. Oded's appeal proved effective. Certain Ephraimite princes upheld his plea, with the result that the captives were clothed and sent back to Jericho.

our trespass: for our trespass is great, and there is fierce wrath against Israel. So the armed men left the captives ¹⁴ and the spoil before the princes and all the congregation. And the men which have been expressed by name rose ¹⁵ up, and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto their brethren: then they returned to Samaria.

At that time did king Ahaz send unto the kings of ¹⁶ Assyria to help him. For again the Edomites had come ¹⁷ and smitten Judah, and carried away captives. The ¹⁸ Philistines also had invaded the cities of the lowland, and of the South of Judah, and had taken Beth-shemesh, and Aijalon, and Gederoth, and Soco with the towns thereof, and Timnah with the towns thereof, Gimzo also and the towns thereof: and they dwelt there. For the LORD ¹⁹ brought Judah low because of Ahaz king of Israel; for he had dealt wantonly in Judah, and trespassed sore

15. Jericho: a city of Benjamin, belonging to the southern kingdom.

xxviii. 16-25. *War and Decline.* The entire section is new matter, but should be compared with 2 Kings xvi. 7-18.

16. kings of Assyria: only one king is intended, as is made clear from verse 20 and the versions. Ahaz actually professed himself a vassal of Assyria. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

17. For again the Edomites had come: the invasion of Rezin had enabled these hereditary foes of Judah to escape from subjection and make reprisals.

18. Beth-shemesh: now 'Ain Shems. **Aijalon:** the modern Yālo. **Gederoth:** now Ghedera. **Soco,** now known as esh-Shuweikeh. **Timnah:** the modern Tilneh. **Gimzo:** now called Jimzā. These towns all lay near the Judean frontier in the Shephelah.

19. Ahaz king of Israel: i.e. of Judah, in whom the chronicler sees the true 'Israel.'

20 against the LORD. And Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him
 21 not. For Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the LORD, and out of the house of the king and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria: but it
 22 helped him not. And in the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the LORD, this same king Ahaz.
 23 For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him: and he said, Because the gods of the kings of Syria helped them, *therefore* will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him,
 24 and of all Israel. And Ahaz gathered together the vessels of the house of God, and cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God, and shut up the doors of the house of the LORD; and he made him altars in every corner of
 25 Jerusalem. And in every several city of Judah he made high places to burn incense unto other gods, and provoked to anger the LORD, the God of his fathers.
 26 [Ch²] Now the rest of his acts, and all his ways, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of

20. Tilgath-pilneser. Cf. note on 1 Chron. v. 6 and 26. The professed vassalage to the Assyrian monarch proved only a further evil to the faithless king. The Assyrian, indeed, made the appeal of Ahaz a pretext for strengthening his grip upon the states of Syria. We are not aware of the date of this unfortunate alliance; but we learn from the monuments that Tiglath-pileser had subdued and depopulated Galilee in 733 B. C., had captured Damascus in 732 B. C., and had reduced Samaria by 722 B. C.

21. Ahaz plundered the Temple to secure Assyrian help.

23. the gods of Damascus: we learn from 2 Kings xvi. 10-16 that Ahaz went to Damascus to pay homage to the victorious Tiglath-pileser. When there, he adopted the Syrian cult.

24. The worship of Jehovah in the Temple was actually suppressed in favour of heathen rites. Jerusalem was given over to idolatry.

xxviii. 26, 27. *Conclusion.*

26. the book of the kings: cf. Introd. § iv.

Judah and Israel. And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and 27 they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem; for they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

[H] Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and 29 twenty years old; and he reigned nine and twenty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Abijah the daughter of Zechariah. And he did that which was right 2 in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done. [Ch] He in the first year of his reign, 3 in the first month, opened the doors of the house of the

27. Ahaz stands out in the narratives of the chronicler as the most glaring illustration of an apostate king.

(13) xxix-xxxii. *Reign of Hezekiah.*

Ahaz was succeeded by Hezekiah, a devout and reforming monarch whose whole efforts were directed to rescuing his country from the ruin produced by his father's policy. Commencing with a moral and religious reformation, he purged the land of idolatry and set up anew the worship of Jehovah, enriching the musical service of the Temple and celebrating a great Passover. His prosperous reign closed with the remarkable deliverance from Sennacherib.

For his material the chronicler has used sources identical with 2 Kings xviii. 1-7, 13, 17-37, xix. 1-37, and xx. He has both abbreviated and amplified his originals, and has produced thereby a narrative which is virtually an independent one. During this reign Isaiah continued his ministry, and the student should not fail to compare the narrative of Chronicles with Isa. xxxvi to xxxix.

xxix. *Religious Reform.*

xxix. 1-2. *Introductory.*

1. Hezekiah: the reign should be dated 720-692 B. C.

xxix. 3-19. *The Temple purified.* The ensuing narratives have a strong Levitic tinge about them, and the whole subject touched upon is one over which the chronicler might linger with special pleasure; but there is no ground for reading into it any animosity towards the Aaronic priests as distinguished from the Levites.

3. in the first month: i. e. Nisan, the first month of the ecclesiastical year which followed Hezekiah's succession.

opened the doors of the house of the LORD: cf. xxviii, 24.

4 LORD, and repaired them. And he brought in the
 priests and the Levites, and gathered them together into
 5 the broad place on the east, and said unto them, Hear
 me, ye Levites ; now sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the
 house of the LORD, the God of your fathers, and carry
 6 forth the filthiness out of the holy place. For our
 fathers have trespassed, and done that which was evil in
 the sight of the LORD our God, and have forsaken him,
 and have turned away their faces from the habitation of
 7 the LORD, and turned their backs. Also they have shut
 up the doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and
 have not burned incense nor offered burnt offerings in
 8 the holy place unto the God of Israel. Wherefore the
 wrath of the LORD was upon Judah and Jerusalem, and
 he hath delivered them to be tossed to and fro, to be an
 astonishment, and an hissing, as ye see with your eyes.
 9 For, lo, our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our
 sons and our daughters and our wives are in captivity
 10 for this. Now it is in mine heart to make a covenant with
 the LORD, the God of Israel, that his fierce anger may
 11 turn away from us. My sons, be not now negligent : for
 the LORD hath chosen you to stand before him, to
 minister unto him, and that ye should be his ministers,
 and burn incense.

4. the priests and the Levites: the reform was from the outset entrusted almost wholly to the Levites and there is little further mention of the priests. These reforms must have been sufficiently arduous after sixteen years of established idolatry, yet the unbroken record of disaster under Ahaz probably paved the way in the national sympathies.

the broad place on the east: i. e. the open space before the east front of the Temple.

5-11. Hezekiah's address to the Levites recalls the national desolation, the prevalence of idolatry, and the desertion of Jehovah, and it calls for zeal in religious reform.

Then the Levites arose, Mahath the son of Amasai, ¹² and Joel the son of Azariah, of the sons of the Kohathites : and of the sons of Merari, Kish the son of Abdi, and Azariah the son of Jehallelel : and of the Gershonites, Joah the son of Zimmah, and Eden the son of Joah : and of the sons of Elizaphan, Shimri and Jeuel : and of ¹³ the sons of Asaph, Zechariah and Mattaniah : and of the ¹⁴ sons of Heman, Jehuel and Shimei : and of the sons of Jeduthun, Shemaiah and Uzziel. And they gathered ¹⁵ their brethren, and sanctified themselves, and went in, according to the commandment of the king by the words of the LORD, to cleanse the house of the LORD. And ¹⁶ the priests went in unto the inner part of the house of the LORD, to cleanse it, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of the LORD into the court of the house of the LORD. And the Levites took it, to carry it out abroad to the brook Kidron. Now they ¹⁷ began on the first *day* of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month came they to the porch of the LORD ; and they sanctified the house of the LORD in eight days : and on the sixteenth day of the first month they made an end. Then they went in to Hezekiah the ¹⁸ king within *the palace*, and said, We have cleansed all the house of the LORD, and the altar of burnt offering, with

12-14. The response of the Levites is made, not in words but in deeds. They are led in the work of purging the Temple by the representatives of the three great Levitic clans, Kohath, Merari, and Gershon, together with the leaders of the three musical guilds of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, to whom are added the clansmen of Elizaphan, a Kohathite chief.

15-16. The Levites are assembled and onseparated for the work, and at once begin to co-operate with the priests in cleansing the Temple.

17. Eight days are spent in cleansing away the refuse from the courts, and eight more in purifying the Temple itself.

all the vessels thereof, and the table of shewbread, with
19 all the vessels thereof. Moreover all the vessels, which
king Ahaz in his reign did cast away when he trespassed,
have we prepared and sanctified ; and, behold, they are
before the altar of the LORD.

20 Then Hezekiah the king arose early, and gathered the
princes of the city, and went up to the house of the
21 LORD. And they brought seven bullocks, and seven
rams, and seven lambs, and seven he-goats, for a sin
offering for the kingdom and for the sanctuary and for
Judah. And he commanded the priests the sons of
22 Aaron to offer them on the altar of the LORD. So they
killed the bullocks, and the priests received the blood,
and sprinkled it on the altar : and they killed the rams,
and sprinkled the blood upon the altar : they killed also
23 the lambs, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar. And
they brought near the he-goats for the sin offering before
the king and the congregation ; and they laid their hands
24 upon them : and the priests killed them, and they made
a sin offering with their blood upon the altar, to make
atonement for all Israel : for the king commanded *that*
the burnt offering and the sin offering *should be made* for
25 all Israel. And he set the Levites in the house of the
LORD with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps,
according to the commandment of David, and of Gad
the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet : for the com-
26 mandment was of the LORD by his prophets. And the

xxix. 20-30. *The Temple re-dedicated.* The princes of Jerusalem
at once proceed with the king to offer dedicatory sacrifices. These
rites are performed in harmony with the directions given in Lev.
i-vi.

25. After the sin offerings for the king and people, there
followed the service of praise based upon the ancient royal ordi-
nances for the Temple worship.

Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets. And Hezekiah commanded ²⁷ to offer the burnt offering upon the altar. And when the burnt offering began, the song of the LORD began also, and the trumpets, together with the instruments of David king of Israel. And all the congregation wor- ²⁸ shipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded; all this *continued* until the burnt offering was finished. And when they had made an end of offering, ²⁹ the king and all that were present with him bowed themselves and worshipped. Moreover Hezekiah the king ³⁰ and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises unto the LORD with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed their heads and worshipped. Then Hezekiah ³¹ answered and said, Now ye have consecrated yourselves unto the LORD, come near and bring sacrifices and thank offerings into the house of the LORD. And the congregation brought in sacrifices and thank offerings; and as many as were of a willing heart *brought* burnt offerings. And the number of the burnt offerings, which the ³² congregation brought, was threescore and ten bullocks, an hundred rams, and two hundred lambs: all these were for a burnt offering to the LORD. And the ³³ consecrated things were six hundred oxen and three thousand sheep. But the priests were too few, so that ³⁴ they could not flay all the burnt offerings: wherefore their brethren the Levites did help them, till the work was ended, and until the priests had sanctified them-

31-36. Public Offerings. The royal dedication ceremony is followed by an appeal from Hezekiah for a national and voluntary consecration. The response is such that the priests cannot undertake the necessary sacrificial duties, and have to accept the aid of the more zealous Levites.

selves : for the Levites were more upright in heart to
 35 sanctify themselves than the priests. And also the burnt
 offerings were in abundance, with the fat of the peace
 offerings, and with the drink offerings for every burnt
 offering. So the service of the house of the LORD was
 36 set in order. And Hezekiah rejoiced, and all the people,
 because of that which God had prepared for the people :
 for the thing was done suddenly.

30 And Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote
 letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should
 come to the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, to keep
 2 the passover unto the LORD, the God of Israel. For the
 king had taken counsel, and his princes, and all the
 congregation in Jerusalem, to keep the passover in the
 3 second month. For they could not keep it at that time,

xxx. *The Great Passover.*

The purification of the Temple had been accomplished by the Levitic and priestly clans ; but the re-dedication of the Temple had mainly concerned the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the provincials needed to be won for Jehovah. Consequently the great religious festivals had to be revived to gather the people from all over the land. Hence Hezekiah instituted his great Passover celebration. In the description of this there is a close and perhaps inevitable resemblance to the other great Passover described by the chronicler, viz. that of Josiah in ch. xxxv.

xxx. 1-12. *Preparation for the Passover.*

1. to all Israel and Judah : as Samaria had fallen in 722 B. C. the northern kingdom was only represented by the remnants of the tribes. A correct view of the chronology of the period (cf. Skinner on 'Kings,' *Century Bible*) reveals the fact that Hosea's reign over Israel really terminated before Hezekiah's accession to the throne of Judah. The date given in 2 Kings xviii. 10 is inaccurate. This being so, the elaborate argument of Keil, in which he attempts to show that the great Passover must have occurred later in Hezekiah's reign than the first year, breaks down. We can, therefore, see how it was possible for Hezekiah to make a special effort to secure the co-operation of the northern tribes in this festival.

because the priests had not sanctified themselves in sufficient number, neither had the people gathered themselves together to Jerusalem. And the thing was right 4 in the eyes of the king and of all the congregation. So 5 they established a decree to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beer-sheba even to Dan, that they should come to keep the passover unto the LORD, the God of Israel, at Jerusalem : for they had not kept it in great numbers in such sort as it is written. So the posts 6 went with the letters from the king and his princes throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the commandment of the king, saying, Ye children of Israel, turn again unto the LORD, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, that he may return to the remnant that are escaped of you out of the hand of the kings of Assyria. And be not ye like your fathers, and like your brethren, 7 which trespassed against the LORD, the God of their fathers, so that he gave them up to desolation, as ye see. Now be ye not stiffnecked, as your fathers were ; but 8 yield yourselves unto the LORD, and enter into his sanctuary, which he hath sanctified for ever, and serve the LORD your God, that his fierce anger may turn away from you. For if ye turn again unto the LORD, your 9 brethren and your children shall find compassion before them that led them captive, and shall come again into this land : for the LORD your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if ye return unto him. So the posts passed from city to city 10

xxx. 6-10. The royal posts carried the invitation of Hezekiah throughout the land. In the letters the king pointed out the results of apostasy and pleaded for a return to the ancestral faith. The plea was strengthened by a reference to the character of Jehovah (verse 9).

6. the kings of Assyria : i. e. Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser.

through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulun: but they laughed them to scorn, and
 11 mocked them. Nevertheless divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to
 12 Jerusalem. Also in Judah was the hand of God to give them one heart, to do the commandment of the king and
 13 of the princes by the word of the LORD. And there assembled at Jerusalem much people to keep the feast of unleavened bread in the second month, a very great
 14 congregation. And they arose and took away the altars that were in Jerusalem, and all the altars for incense took they away, and cast them into the brook Kidron.
 15 Then they killed the passover on the fourteenth *day* of the second month: and the priests and the Levites were ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and brought burnt
 16 offerings into the house of the LORD. And they stood in their place after their order, according to the law of Moses the man of God: the priests sprinkled the blood,
 17 *which they received* of the hand of the Levites. For there were many in the congregation that had not sanctified themselves: therefore the Levites had the charge of

10, 11. There was no general response on the part of the northern remnants, except contemptuous refusal of Hezekiah's invitation. Stray pilgrims alone journeyed to Jerusalem from four of the northern tribes (verse 18).

xxx. 13-22. *Celebration of the Passover.*

14. took away the altars: i. e. they removed every trace of the idolatry with which Ahaz had filled Jerusalem. Among other objects to be destroyed, the author of Kings names, but the chronicler omits, the brazen serpent of Moses.

15. the Levites were ashamed: the Levites found themselves spurred on to their duties by the superior zeal of the people.

16, 17. It was the duty of the head of each household to slay the lamb and hand the blood to the priest; but ceremonial uncleanness prevented this, and the Levites performed the duty in place of the householders.

killing the passovers for every one that was not clean, to sanctify them unto the LORD. For a multitude of the 18 people, even many of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than it is written. For Hezekiah had prayed for them, saying, The good LORD pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God, the 19 LORD, the God of his fathers, though *he be not cleansed* according to the purification of the sanctuary. And the 20 LORD hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people. And the children of Israel that were present at Jerusalem 21 kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with great gladness: and the Levites and the priests praised the LORD day by day, *singing* with loud instruments unto the LORD. And Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all the 22 Levites that were well skilled *in the service* of the LORD. So they did eat throughout the feast for the seven days, offering sacrifices of peace offerings, and making confession to the LORD, the God of their fathers. And the 23 whole congregation took counsel to keep other seven days: and they kept *other* seven days with gladness. For Hezekiah king of Judah did give to the congregation 24

18, 19. As the theocratic king, Hezekiah pleads for pardon for the irregularity of the observances.

20. healed the people: probably there were already signs of the outbreak of plague among the assembled multitudes, or else the meaning is that Jehovah refrained from punishing.

22. Hezekiah spake comfortably: the king commended the zeal of the Levites.

23-27. Conclusion of the Festival. The national assembly determined to continue the festival throughout a second week. This is rendered possible by the lavish gifts made by king and princes for the sacrificial meals and by the readiness of the priests to undertake the labour involved. At the close of the fortnight's rejoicing the assembly is dismissed with the Levitic benediction, and the divine blessing rests upon the people.

for offerings a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep: and a great
 25 number of priests sanctified themselves. And all the congregation of Judah, with the priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel, and that
 26 dwelt in Judah, rejoiced. So there was great joy in Jerusalem: for since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel there was not the like in Jerusalem.
 27 Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to his holy habitation, even unto heaven.
 31 Now when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah, [Ch²] and brake in pieces the pillars, and hewed down the Asherim, and brake down the high places and [Ch] the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh, until they had destroyed them all. Then all the children of Israel returned, every man to his possession, into their
 2 own cities. And Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and the Levites after their courses, every man according to his service, both the priests and the Levites, for burnt offerings and for peace offerings, to minister, and to give thanks, and to praise in the gates of the
 3 camp of the LORD. *He appointed* also the king's portion

xxxi. *Rehabilitation of Worship.*

1. The worshippers returned to display their zeal for Jehovah by a great iconoclastic crusade in which they purged the provinces of all trace of idolatry.

2-6. Hezekiah meantime reorganized the services of the sanctuary. With royal bounty he made provision for the regular sacrifices; and the people responded liberally to his command to support the priestly orders.

of his substance for the burnt offerings, *to wit*, for the morning and evening burnt offerings, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, and for the new moons, and for the set feasts, as it is written in the law of the LORD. Moreover he commanded the people that dwelt in Jerusalem to give the portion of the priests and the Levites, that they might give themselves to the law of the LORD. And as soon as the commandment came abroad, the children of Israel gave in abundance the firstfruits of corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase of the field; and the tithe of all things brought they in abundantly. And the children of Israel and Judah, that dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also brought in the tithe of oxen and sheep, and the tithe of dedicated things which were consecrated unto the LORD their God, and laid them by heaps. In the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, and finished them in the seventh month. And when Hezekiah and the princes came and saw the heaps, they blessed the LORD, and his people Israel. Then Hezekiah questioned with the priests and the Levites concerning the heaps. And Azariah the chief priest, of the house of Zadok, answered him and said, Since *the people* began to bring the oblations into the house of the LORD, we have eaten and had enough, and have left plenty: for the LORD hath blessed his people; and that which is left is this great store. Then Hezekiah commanded to prepare chambers in the

9. questioned . . . concerning the heaps: the king conferred with the Levites concerning the tithes and offerings which the people had brought for their support.

10. Azariah: this may have been the same who resisted the irregular acts of Uzziah forty years before. He declares that the offerings are more than sufficient.

11. Hezekiah orders the building of new store-chambers.

- 12 house of the LORD ; and they prepared them. And they brought in the oblations and the tithes and the dedicated things faithfully : and over them Conaniah the Levite
 13 was ruler, and Shimei his brother was second. And Jehiel, and Azaziah, and Nahath, and Asahel, and Jerimoth, and Jozabad, and Eliel, and Ismachiah, and Mahath, and Benaiah, were overseers under the hand of Conaniah and Shimei his brother, by the appointment of Hezekiah the king, and Azariah the ruler of the house of God.
 14 And Kore the son of Imnah the Levite, the porter at the east *gate*, was over the freewill offerings of God, to distribute the oblations of the LORD, and the most holy
 15 things. And under him were Eden, and Miniamin, and Jeshua, and Shemaiah, Amariah, and Shecaniah, in the cities of the priests, in their set office, to give to their brethren by courses, as well to the great as to the small :
 16 beside them that were reckoned by genealogy of males, from three years old and upward, even every one that entered into the house of the LORD, as the duty of every day required, for their service in their charges according
 17 to their courses ; [R] and them that were reckoned by genealogy of the priests by their fathers' houses, and the Levites from twenty years old and upward, in their
 18 charges by their courses ; and them that were reckoned by genealogy of all their little ones, their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, through all the congregation : for in their set office they sanctified themselves in
 19 holiness : also for the sons of Aaron the priests, which

12-14. With his usual fondness for names and statistics the chronicler mentions the overseers of the store-chambers and the officials occupied in the distribution of the offerings. From this participation in the gifts no qualified recipient was excluded.

17-19. These verses are parenthetical and probably due to a later hand.

were in the fields of the suburbs of their cities, in every several city, there were men that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by genealogy among the Levites. [Ch] And thus did Hezekiah throughout all Judah; and 20 he wrought that which was good and right and faithful before the LORD his God. And in every work that he 21 began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered.

[Ch²] After these things, and this faithfulness, Senna- 32 cherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them for himself. [Ch] And when Hezekiah saw that 2 Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his princes and 3

xxxii. *Sennacherib's Invasion and Hezekiah's Sickness.*

The narrative of this chapter bears a close relation to the parallel composite narrative of 2 Kings xviii. 18—xix. 21, although there are considerable variations. Independent documents must have been used for much of the material, yet the narrative of Isa. xxxvi—xxxix received little attention. We learn from Assyrian records that in 701 B. C. Sennacherib sought to reduce the Syrian states which had revolted on the death of Sargon in 705 B. C. Without great difficulty he subdued Phoenicia and Philistia and defeated a relieving force from Egypt. Thereupon he turned his attention to Judah, captured forty-six of its fortified towns and invested the capital, with the result that Hezekiah paid tribute and Sennacherib returned to Nineveh. The chronicler describes the campaign solely as a proof of the power of God to deliver a faithful king. In the main he abridges the account of 2 Kings, although he gives an independent account of Hezekiah's measures for the defence of Jerusalem (verses 2-8).

xxxii. 1-23. *Sennacherib's Campaign.*

1. **Sennacherib:** the son of Sargon, king of Assyria from 705-682 B. C. The Assyrian form of the name is Sin-ahê-erba.

thought to win them: he had already reduced many of them and had probably advanced as far as Lachish.

his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which
 4 were without the city; and they helped him. So there
 was gathered much people together, and they stopped all
 the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the
 midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of
 5 Assyria come, and find much water? And he took
 courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down,
 and raised *it* up to the towers, and the other wall with-
 out, and strengthened Millo *in* the city of David, and
 6 made weapons and shields in abundance. And he set
 captains of war over the people, and gathered them
 together to him in the broad place at the gate of the city,
 7 and spake comfortably to them, saying, Be strong and of
 a good courage, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king
 of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him:
 8 for there is a greater with us than with him: with him is
 an arm of flesh; but with us is the LORD our God to
 help us, and to fight our battles. And the people rested
 themselves upon the words of Hezekiah king of Judah.
 9 [Ch²] After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send
 his servants to Jerusalem, (now he was before Lachish,
 and all his power with him,) unto Hezekiah king of Judah,
 10 and unto all Judah that were at Jerusalem, saying, Thus

3. to stop the waters: recent explorations have revealed an elaborate system of aqueducts and watercourses, just such as Hezekiah might well construct to supply the capital during siege and to foil the invaders.

5. the other wall without: i. e. the fortification of the lower city.

Millo: some portion of the citadel of Jerusalem.

6. spake comfortably to them: Hezekiah's address to the people breathes the spirit of absolute confidence in God, and it proved contagious.

9. send his servants: the account of the embassy is condensed considerably from 2 Kings xviii. 12 ff.

Lachish: cf. note on xxv. 27.

saith Sennacherib king of Assyria, Whereon do ye trust, that ye abide the siege in Jerusalem? Doth not Hezekiah 11 persuade you, to give you over to die by famine and by thirst, saying, The LORD our God shall deliver us out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Hath not the same 12 Hezekiah taken away his high places and his altars, and commanded Judah and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall worship before one altar, and upon it shall ye burn incense? Know ye not what I and my fathers have done 13 unto all the peoples of the lands? Were the gods of the nations of the lands any ways able to deliver their land out of mine hand? Who was there among all the gods 14 of those nations which my fathers utterly destroyed, that could deliver his people out of mine hand, that your God should be able to deliver you out of mine hand? Now 15 therefore let not Hezekiah deceive you, nor persuade you on this manner, neither believe ye him: for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand? And 16 his servants spake yet more against the LORD God, and against his servant Hezekiah. He wrote also letters, 17 to rail on the LORD, the God of Israel, and to speak against him, saying, As the gods of the nations of the lands, which have not delivered their people out of mine hand, so shall not the God of Hezekiah deliver his people out of mine hand. And they cried with a loud voice in 18 the Jews' language unto the people of Jerusalem that

13. The ambassadors refer to Sennacherib's unbroken record of conquest.

17. wrote . . . letters: subsequent to the failure to cajole the people into submission.

18. cried . . . unto the people: the third effort of Sennacherib to secure the city was an appeal to treachery.

were on the wall, to affright them, and to trouble them ;
 19 that they might take the city. And they spake of the
 God of Jerusalem, as of the gods of the peoples of the
 20 earth, which are the work of men's hands. And Hezekiah
 the king, and Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, prayed
 21 because of this, and cried to heaven. And the LORD sent
 an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and
 the leaders and captains, in the camp of the king of
 Assyria. So he returned with shame of face to his own
 land. And when he was come into the house of his
 god, they that came forth of his own bowels slew him
 22 there with the sword. [Ch] Thus the LORD saved
 Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand
 of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and from the hand of
 23 all *other*, and guided them on every side. And many
 brought gifts unto the LORD to Jerusalem, and precious
 things to Hezekiah king of Judah : so that he was exalted
 in the sight of all nations from thenceforth.
 24 [H] In those days Hezekiah was sick even unto
 death : and he prayed unto the LORD ; [Ch] and he
 25 spake unto him, and gave him a sign. But Hezekiah
 rendered not again according to the benefit done unto
 him ; for his heart was lifted up : therefore there was

20. Isaiah the prophet : to whom the king sent the letters of Sennacherib.

21. the LORD sent an angel : possibly the divine intervention took the form of a pestilence ; cf. 2 Sam. xxiv, 15 ff.

slew him : he was murdered by his sons.

xxxii. 24-33. *Hezekiah's Sickness and Death.* The narrative of the king's sickness and of the close of his reign is abridged from 2 Kings xx. Compare also Isa. xxxviii. 1-8, 21, 22.

24. In those days : the phrase does not necessarily indicate the time of Sennacherib's invasion, seeing that the original context of this extract cannot be determined (cf. Isa. xxxviii. 1). In this verse we have a mere hint of the incident of the king's illness and recovery.

wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem. Not-²⁶
withstanding Hezekiah humbled himself for the pride of
his heart, both he and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so
that the wrath of the LORD came not upon them in
the days of Hezekiah. And Hezekiah had exceeding²⁷
much riches and honour: and he provided him treasuries
for silver, and for gold, and for precious stones, and
for spices, and for shields, and for all manner of goodly
vessels; storehouses also for the increase of corn and²⁸
wine and oil: and stalls for all manner of beasts, and
flocks in folds. Moreover he provided him cities, and²⁹
possessions of flocks and herds in abundance: for God
had given him very much substance. [H²] This same³⁰
Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters
of Gihon, and brought them straight down on the west
side of the city of David. [Ch] And Hezekiah prospered
in all his works. Howbeit in *the business of* the³¹
ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him
to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God
left him, to try him, that he might know all that was in his
heart. [Ch²] Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and³²
his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision
of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, in the book of the

25. his heart was lifted up: Hezekiah forgot his vows, and in his pride displayed all his resources to the embassy from Babylon.

26. humbled himself: in response to the message of Isaiah which condemned his pride.

30. the waters of Gihon: now known as the Virgin Spring; the waters were led by way of a canal under the Temple mount into the Pool of Siloam on the west side of the hill. The object was to secure the water-supply during a siege.

31. the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon: the prince in question was Merodach-baladan. He had been finally overthrown by Sennacherib before 701 B. C., so that the incident of the embassy is not here placed in its chronological order.

32. in the vision of Isaiah: i. e. in his prophecies.

33 kings of Judah and Israel. And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death. And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

33 [H] Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign; and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem.
 2 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD
 3 cast out before the children of Israel. For he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had broken down; and he reared up altars for the Baalim, and made Asheroth, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and
 4 served them. And he built altars in the house of the LORD, whereof the LORD said, In Jerusalem shall my name
 5 be for ever. And he built altars for all the host of heaven

33. the ascent of the sepulchres: i. e. the higher ground above the ancient royal burying-place.

(14) xxxiii. 1-20. *Reign of Manasseh.*

The account of Manasseh's early years is a close parallel to 2 Kings xxi. 1-10, 18; the details contained in 2 Kings xxi. 11-16 have been omitted, but the narrative has been augmented by original matter in verses 11-19. The chronicler has acted in accordance with his peculiar didactic motive in the selection of his material of the punishment of Manasseh and his Assyrian captivity. To omit this narrative of divine punishment of the most reactionary and idolatrous of Judah's kings would have been to mar the value of the history in the compiler's eyes.

1. **Manasseh**: king of Judah from 642 to 638 B. C.

2. **after the abominations of the heathen**: i. e. the lingering love for the debased Canaanitish worship was officially encouraged, and all the abominations of heathendom, so often partially eradicated by reforming kings, were actively fostered by Manasseh.

3. Manasseh not only restored the illicit worship at the high-places and the cult of the Baals and Asherim, but he inaugurated the worship of the heavenly bodies. In this we see the influence of Assyria, where astral worship prevailed.

4. **altars in the house of the LORD**: this exceeds even

in the two courts of the house of the LORD. He also ■ made his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom : and he practised augury, and used enchantments, and practised sorcery, and dealt with them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards : he wrought much evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger. And he set the graven image of the idol, which 7 he had made, in the house of God, of which God said to David and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever : neither will I any 8 more remove the foot of Israel from off the land which I have appointed for your fathers ; if only they will observe to do all that I have commanded them, even all the law and the statutes and the ordinances by the hand of Moses. And Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants 9 of Jerusalem to err, so that they did evil more than did the nations, whom the LORD destroyed before the children of Israel. [Ch] And the LORD spake to 10 Manasseh, and to his people : but they gave no heed. Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains of 11 the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh

the sin of Ahaz, who had polluted the Temple and suspended its services.

6. to pass through the fire : the whole system of idolatrous rites and eastern magic, so absolutely prohibited in Deut. xviii. 10 ff., was legalized by the king.

7. the graven image of the idol : 2 Kings xxi. 7 reads ' the graven image of the Asherah ' ; evidently the Assyrian goddess is meant.

10. the LORD spake to Manasseh : this is a brief reference to the prophetic warnings recorded in ■ Kings xxi. 10-16.

they gave no heed : as a chastisement should, in the chronicler's view, invariably follow such apostasy, he diverges from ■ Kings at this point and gives the facts of the Assyrian invasion.

11. the king of Assyria : evidently Esarhaddon is referred to.

in chains, and bound him with fetters, and carried him
 12 to Babylon. And when he was in distress, he besought
 the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before
 13 the God of his fathers. And he prayed unto him; and
 he was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and
 brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom.
 Then Manasseh knew that the LORD he was God.

14 Now after this he built an outer wall to the city of
 David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even
 to the entering in at the fish gate; and he compassed
 about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height: and he
 put valiant captains in all the fenced cities of Judah.
 15 And he took away the strange gods, and the idol out
 of the house of the LORD, and all the altars that he had
 built in the mount of the house of the LORD, and in
 16 Jerusalem, and cast them out of the city. And he built
 up the altar of the LORD, and offered thereon sacrifices of
 peace offerings and of thanksgiving, and commanded
 17 Judah to serve the LORD, the God of Israel. Neverthe-

Assyria was, at this period, at the height of its power. Egypt had been reduced and all the Syrian states had been brought into subjection. That Manasseh was among the tributaries is proved by the fact that his name occurs in the rediscovered records of the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pul. Esarhaddon rebuilt Babylon and long resided there, so that he would naturally carry any revolted vassal thither.

in chains: A. V. reads 'among the thorns,' R. V. margin 'with hooks.' It is a figurative expression for captivity.

12, 13. Captivity produced the desired repentance and return to Jehovah. In consequence Manasseh was restored to his kingdom.

14. Manasseh signalized his return to Jerusalem by strengthening the fortifications of the city. He added to Hezekiah's wall, building eastwards to the Fish gate (Neh. iii. 3) and constructing a wall around Ophel (2 Chron. xxvii. 3). Moreover all the fortresses of Judah were garrisoned.

15-17. Manasseh now purged the Temple of the idolatrous symbols which he had set up, and sought to restore the worship

less the people did sacrifice still in the high places, but only unto the LORD their God. Now the rest of the acts 18 of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the LORD, the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of Israel. His prayer also, and how God 19 was intreated of him, and all his sin and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled himself: behold, they are written in the history of Hozai. [H] So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried 20 him in his own house: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

Amon was twenty and two years old when he began to 21 reign; and he reigned two years in Jerusalem. And he 22 did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did Manasseh his father: [Ch²] and Amon sacrificed unto all the graven images which Manasseh his father had made, and served them. And he humbled not himself 23 before the LORD, as Manasseh his father had humbled himself; but this same Amon trespassed more and more.

of Jehovah. He found it impossible, however, to centralize the worship, and had to rest content with substituting the worship of Jehovah for that of the Baals at the high-places.

18. his prayer: there is a so-called 'Prayer of Manasses' in the Greek Apocrypha. But the chronicler refers his readers for fuller information to the 'history of Hozai,' an unknown prophet.

20. buried him in his own house: the ancient sepulchres of the kings were no longer used. Manasseh seems to have been interred in a private tomb in the palace-garden; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 18.

(15) xxxiii. 21-25. *Reign of Amon.*

The narrative is paralleled by 2 Kings xxi. 19-24. Amon followed the example of his father's earlier career, having failed to profit by the lesson of his captivity and repentance.

21. Amon: he reigned from 638 to 637 B.C.

24 And his servants conspired against him, and put him
 25 to death in his own house. [H] But the people of
 the land slew all them that had conspired against
 king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his
 son king in his stead.

34 Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign;
 2 and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And
 he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and
 walked in the ways of David his father, and turned not
 3 aside to the right hand or to the left. [Ch] For in the
 eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began
 to seek after the God of David his father: and in the
 twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from
 the high places, and the Asherim, and the graven images,
 4 and the molten images. And they brake down the altars
 of the Baalim in his presence; and the sun-images, that
 were on high above them, he hewed down; and the
 Asherim, and the graven images, and the molten images,

24. his servants conspired: a palace-conspiracy terminated Amon's reactionary reign.

(16) xxxiv, xxxv. *Reign of Josiah.*

Cf. 2 Kings xxii, xxiii. 3-23, 24-30. The chronicler has made the usual expansions and abridgements of his originals; he gives us new matter in xxxiv. 12-14, 32, 33. Josiah was a reforming ruler from the outset, but the all-important event of the discovery of the book of the Law led to the complete abolition of all idolatry and the establishment of the Deuteronomic system.

xxxiv. 1, 2. *Introduction.*

1. Josiah: king of Judah from 637 to 607 B.C. To the chronicler he is an ideal monarch.

xxxiv. 3-7. *Idolatry uprooted.* The section appears in fuller form in 2 Kings xxiii. 4-20, where it is referred to the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign; but the description of his zeal for Jehovah was equally applicable at any point of his earlier career.

4. in his presence: Josiah personally superintended the overthrow of idolatry in his twentieth year,

he brake in pieces, and made dust of them, and strowed it upon the graves *of them* that had sacrificed unto them. And he burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, 5 and purged Judah and Jerusalem. And *so did he* in the 6 cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, in their ruins round about. And he brake 7 down the altars, and beat the Asherim and the graven images into powder, and hewed down all the sun-images throughout all the land of Israel, and returned to Jerusalem.

[Ch²] Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when 8 he had purged the land, and the house, he sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Joah the son of Joahaz the recorder, to repair the house of the LORD his God. And they came to 9 Hilkiash the high priest, and delivered the money that was brought into the house of God, which the Levites,

5. burnt the bones : the idolatrous priests were exhumed and their bones burned to defile the place of heathen sacrifice.

6. so did he in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim : Josiah's zeal carried him throughout the depleted districts of northern Israel as well as through Simeon.

xxxiv. 8-18. *Discovery of the Law* (2 Kings xxii. 3-10). Josiah next turned his attention to the desolate Temple. During its repair the priest Hilkiash discovered a roll of the Law, which, it is now admitted, must have been practically identical with our Book of Deuteronomy. This book seems to have been compiled in its later form towards the close of the monarchy, probably during the reign of Manasseh; from that time it was mislaid until its discovery in 621 B.C. For a full discussion of the subject cf. Driver in *Deuteronomy*, and Skinner on 'Kings,' in *Century Bible*, p. 441.

8. The repair of the Temple was entrusted to three state officials, Shaphan (the secretary), Maaseiah (the city governor), and Joah (the chancellor).

9. Hilkiash the high priest : called 'the priest' in verse 14. To him the three officials delivered the dues collected throughout the land.

the keepers of the door, had gathered of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel, and of all Judah and Benjamin, and of the inhabitants of
 10 Jerusalem. And they delivered it into the hand of the workmen that had the oversight of the house of the LORD; and the workmen that wrought in the house of
 11 the LORD gave it to amend and repair the house; even to the carpenters and to the builders gave they it, to buy hewn stone, and timber for couplings, and to make beams for the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed.
 12 [Ch] And the men did the work faithfully: and the overseers of them were Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites, of the sons of Merari; and Zechariah and Meshullam, of the sons of the Kohathites, to set it forward: and *other of* the Levites, all that could skill of instruments of music.
 13 Also they were over the bearers of burdens, and set forward all that did the work in every manner of service: and of the Levites there were scribes, and officers, and
 14 porters. And when they brought out the money that was brought into the house of the LORD, Hilkiah the priest found the book of the law of the LORD given by
 15 Moses. [H] And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house

10, 11. The requisite work of repairs shows how completely the fabric of the Temple had decayed.

12. The chronicler's fondness for the Levites and the singers is again apparent in verses 12-14, which are due to his hand alone. Probably, as Keil suggests, these singers were also appointed overseers; hence verse 12^b should be read in continuity with 13^a.

14. the book of the law of the LORD given by Moses: the chronicler goes beyond the author of Kings in attributing it to Moses.

15, 16. The scribe carries the book of the Law to the king with his report of the repairs to the Temple.

of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan. And Shaphan carried the book to the king, ¹⁶ and moreover brought the king word again, saying, All that was committed to thy servants, they do it. And ¹⁷ they have emptied out the money that was found in the house of the LORD, and have delivered it into the hand of the overseers, and into the hand of the workmen. And Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah ¹⁸ the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read therein before the king. And it came to pass, when the ¹⁹ king had heard the words of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah, and Ahikam ²⁰ the son of Shaphan, and Abdon the son of Micah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, saying, Go ye, inquire of the LORD for me, and for them that are ²¹ left in Israel and in Judah, concerning the words of the book that is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the word of the LORD, to do according unto all that is written in this book. So Hilkiah, and they whom the ²² king *had commanded*, went to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tokhath, the son of Hasrah, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in

18. Shaphan read therein: 2 Kings says he read the entire roll to the king.

xxxiv. 19-28. *Effects of the Discovery upon Josiah.*

19. rent his clothes: the king is filled with grief and fear on learning the penalties attaching to the irregularities in worship which had been committed.

20, 21. Josiah immediately appoints a commission to seek prophetic guidance as to the possibility of escaping the divine anger which he feels to be impending over the erring nation.

22. Huldah: evidently a prophetess of repute. Contemporary with her was Jeremiah, but his ministry had scarcely become a power yet.

the second quarter ;) and they spake to her to that effect.
 23 And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God
 24 of Israel : Tell ye the man that sent you unto me, Thus
 saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place,
 and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that
 are written in the book which they have read before the
 25 king of Judah : because they have forsaken me, and have
 burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke
 me to anger with all the works of their hands ; therefore
 is my wrath poured out upon this place, and it shall not
 26 be quenched. But unto the king of Judah, who sent you
 to inquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus
 saith the LORD, the God of Israel : As touching the
 27 words which thou hast heard, because thine heart was
 tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when
 thou heardest his words against this place, and against
 the inhabitants thereof, and hast humbled thyself before
 me, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me ;
 28 I also have heard thee, saith the LORD. Behold, I will
 gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to
 thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the
 evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the in-
 habitants thereof. And they brought the king word
 again.
 29 Then the king sent and gathered together all the

23-28. Huldah replies that the consequences of apostasy cannot be absolutely averted ; the law of Jehovah cannot be trifled with ; yet respite should be given during the reign of the pious King Josiah.

xxxiv. 29-33. *The National Covenant* (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 1-3). The king's next step was the convening of a representative assembly, the public reading of the newly found law, and the inauguration of a covenant-compact binding the people to observe the law. By this means the authority of the Deuteronomic code was recognized as nationally and individually obligatory.

elders of Judah and Jerusalem. And the king went up 30
to the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah
and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the
Levites, and all the people, both great and small : and he
read in their ears all the words of the book of the
covenant that was found in the house of the LORD. And 31
the king stood in his place, and made a covenant before
the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his
commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes,
with all his heart, and with all his soul, to perform the
words of the covenant that were written in this book.
[Ch] And he caused all that were found in Jerusalem and 32
Benjamin to stand *to it*. And the inhabitants of
Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God
of their fathers. And Josiah took away all the abomina- 33
tions out of all the countries that pertained to the
children of Israel, and made all that were found in Israel
to serve, even to serve the LORD their God. All his days
they departed not from following the LORD, the God
of their fathers.

And Josiah kept a passover unto the LORD in 35

30. the Levites : the chronicler repairs the omission of his class by the author of 2 Kings.

the book of the covenant : the title is descriptive of the Book of Deuteronomy in its pre-exilic form.

31. in his place : 2 Kings says 'by the pillar.'

made a covenant before the LORD : the transaction and the vows of the parties concerned were performed as in the sight of Jehovah.

32. to stand to it : a sign of willingness to observe the law.

33. Josiah established the compulsory worship of Jehovah as widely as his power extended.

xxxv. 1-9. *The Passover.*

The renewal of the covenant was immediately followed by the solemn observance of a national Passover in accordance with the regulations of Deut. xvi. 1-8. The chronicler describes this

Jerusalem : and they killed the passover on the fourteenth
 2 *day* of the first month. And he set the priests in their
 charges, and encouraged them to the service of the house
 3 of the LORD. And he said unto the Levites that taught
 all Israel, which were holy unto the Lord, Put the holy ark
 in the house which Solomon the son of David king
 of Israel did build ; there shall no more be a burden
 upon your shoulders : now serve the LORD your God, and
 4 his people Israel. And prepare yourselves after your
 fathers' houses by your courses, according to the writing
 of David king of Israel, and according to the writing
 5 of Solomon his son. And stand in the holy place
 according to the divisions of the fathers' houses of your
 brethren the children of the people, and *let there be for*
 6 *each* a portion of a fathers' house of the Levites. And
 kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare for
 your brethren, to do according to the word of the LORD
 7 by the hand of Moses. And Josiah gave to the children
 of the people, of the flock, lambs and kids, all of them
 for the passover offerings, unto all that were present,
 to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand

Passover much more in detail than does the author of 2 Kings, giving due prominence to the part played by the Levites.

1. The prescribed date was duly observed.

3. **Put the holy ark in the house :** the narrative implies that during the neglect and decay of the Temple the sacred Ark had been removed from the shrine. Whatever the Levites may have proposed to do (and some critics surmise a proposed public procession), Josiah prohibits their bearing the Ark ; he orders them to replace it in its right position and to give themselves to their other duties.

4-6. The king reappoints the Levitic courses and orders them to perform the rites of purification and attend to the Passover.

7. Josiah's gifts of cattle reached to three times the number presented by Hezekiah, and they were further added to by the princes and chief priests.

bullocks: these were of the king's substance. And 8
his princes gave for a freewill offering unto the people, to
the priests, and to the Levites. Hilkiah and Zechariah
and Jehiel, the rulers of the house of God, gave unto the
priests for the passover offerings two thousand and six
hundred *small cattle*, and three hundred oxen. Conaniah 9
also, and Shemaiah and Nethanel, his brethren, and
Hashabiah and Jeiel and Jozabad, the chiefs of the
Levites, gave unto the Levites for the passover offerings
five thousand *small cattle*, and five hundred oxen. So 10
the service was prepared, and the priests stood in their
place, and the Levites by their courses, according to the
king's commandment. And they killed the passover, and 11
the priests sprinkled *the blood, which they received* of their
hand, and the Levites flayed them. And they removed 12
the burnt offerings, that they might give them according
to the divisions of the fathers' houses of the children
of the people, to offer unto the LORD, as it is written
in the book of Moses. And so did they with the oxen.
And they roasted the passover with fire according to the 13
ordinance: and the holy offerings sod they in pots, and
in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all
the children of the people. And afterward they prepared 14
for themselves, and for the priests; because the priests
the sons of Aaron *were busied* in offering the burnt
offerings and the fat until night: therefore the Levites pre-
pared for themselves, and for the priests the sons of Aaron.
And the singers the sons of Asaph were in their place, 15
according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and
Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters
were at every gate: they needed not to depart from their

service, for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.
 16 So all the service of the LORD was prepared the same day,
 to keep the passover, and to offer burnt offerings upon the
 altar of the LORD, according to the commandment of king
 17 Josiah. And the children of Israel that were present
 kept the passover at that time, and the feast of unleavened
 18 bread seven days. [Ch²] And there was no passover like
 to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the
 prophet; neither did any of the kings of Israel keep such
 a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites,
 and all Judah and Israel that were present, and the
 19 inhabitants of Jerusalem. In the eighteenth year of the
 reign of Josiah was this passover kept.
 20 After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple,

15. the Levites prepared for them: no respite from service during the great feast was given either to priests or singers; but they were only enabled to stay at their posts by the aid of the Levites. Throughout the festival, the continued service of priests, Levites, porters, and orchestra was compulsory.

18. This Passover not only surpassed that of Hezekiah, but excelled any festival since the early days of the kingdom.

19. In the eighteenth year: as this was the year of the discovery of the law, the date is reckoned according to the old Hebrew calendar by which the year commenced in the autumn.

xxxv. 20-27. *Necho's invasion and death of Josiah.* At this time the power of Assyria was being shaken to its foundation by the invasions of the Chaldeans and Medes. Consequently, Necho II of Egypt seized the opportunity to re-establish his supremacy over Syria. Marching towards the Euphrates he had to cross Palestine. Josiah determined to oppose his passage. The reasons for this are unknown; but he may have desired to vindicate the ancient liberties of his own country. He met Necho at Megiddo and fell in battle there in 608 B. C. (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 25-30).

20. After all this: the phrase suggests a certain amount of mystery about the event which must have baffled the chronicler. According to all his theories of retribution there should have been nought but blessing for such a monarch and his purified land.

Neco king of Egypt went up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him. [Ch] But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What ²¹ have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? *I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; and God hath commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah* ²² would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Neco, from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at ²³ king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away; for I am sore wounded. [Ch²] So his servants ²⁴ took him out of the chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had, and brought him to Jerusalem; and he died, and was buried in the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.

Neco : i. e. Necho II, son of Psammetichus; he reigned over Egypt from 609 to 594 B.C.

Carchemish : the modern Jerābis, on the west bank of the Euphrates. It was a great fortress, the centre of an important trade and the early northern capital of the Hittite empire.

Josiah went out against him : to oppose his passage through Galilee.

21. God hath commanded me to make haste : Necho pleaded that he was executing the will of Jehovah and that Josiah would be doing wrong to force hostilities with him.

22. the words of Neco, from the mouth of God : the chronicler in reporting these words shows himself in line with the great prophets who had always recognized Jehovah's sovereignty over the world-rulers and the heathen.

Megiddo : the ancient city and stronghold of northern Israel, situated on the trade and military route between Egypt and the Euphrates. Probably it is identical with the modern Lejjūn, four miles north of Taanach, in the plain of Esdraelon.

24. The wounded king is driven back to Jerusalem only for burial amid the universal lamentation of his people.

25 [Ch] And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the
 26 lamentations. [Ch²] Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his good deeds, according to that which is written in
 27 the law of the LORD, and his acts, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

36 [H] Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in
 2 Jerusalem. Joahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in
 3 Jerusalem. And the king of Egypt deposed him at Jerusalem, and amerced the land in an hundred talents
 4 of silver and a talent of gold. And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and changed his name to Jehoiakim. And Neco took Joahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.

25. Jeremiah lamented: i.e. composed the funeral ode, the dirge, for the fallen monarch.

written in the lamentations: probably a lost collection of funeral elegies. It cannot be referred to Lam. iv. 20.

(17) xxxvi. *Concluding Years of the Monarchy.*

xxxvi. 1-4. *Reign of Jehoahaz.* Crowned immediately upon Josiah's death, Jehoahaz reigned only three months; he was then deposed by Necho and imprisoned, while the land was made a dependency of Egypt. Jehoahaz died in captivity in Egypt, and his melancholy end was celebrated by Ezekiel in his stately elegy of ch. xix (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 30-35).

1. Jehoahaz: reigned for three months in 607 B. C.

3. amerced the land: as a penalty for the resistance offered to the Egyptian armies.

4. Eliakim: the name was changed to Jehoiakim, merely by altering the initial syllables from one name of God (Ēl) to another (Yahweh).

Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign ; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem : and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoakim, and his abominations which he did, and that which was found in him, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah : and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.

[Ch²] Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began to reign ; and he reigned three months and ten days in

xxxvi. 5-8. *Reign of Jehoiakim.* During this reign the balance of Oriental power underwent a complete readjustment. Nineveh fell in 607 B.C. and the Assyrian empire was divided. Nabopolassar established himself in the western half at Babylon and, as the first effort of his reign, dispatched his son Nebuchadnezzar to dislodge Necho from Syria. At the great battle of Carchemish, 605 B.C., Necho was crushed and the supremacy fell to Babylon under its king Nebuchadnezzar, who now succeeded his father. Towards the new paramount power Jehoiakim adopted an attitude of alternating submission and revolt, ending in overthrow and captivity (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 36—xxiv. 7).

5. Jehoiakim : king of Judah from 607 to 597 B.C.

6. Nebuchadnezzar : ruler of Babylon from 605 to 561 B.C.

to carry him to Babylon : the dates of the rebellion and its suppression are uncertain. Most probably the king did not attempt to throw off the yoke until near the close of his reign. Jehoiakim was never actually carried into captivity.

8. his abominations : i. e. religious apostasy.

xxxvi. 9, 10. *Reign of Jehoiachin.* Soon after Jehoiachin's accession the avenging armies of Babylon arrived and besieged the capital. When the city, after a brief resistance, fell, there followed the first Captivity. All the leading inhabitants were deported to Babylon. This event in 597 B.C. was the virtual close of the Judean monarchy.

9. eight years old : read 'eighteen' with 2 Kings, LXX, Syriac.

Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the
 10 LORD. And at the return of the year king Nebuchadnezzar sent, and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the LORD, and made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.

11 Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began
 12 to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his God; [Ch] he humbled not himself before Jeremiah the
 13 prophet *speaking* from the mouth of the LORD. And he also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God: but he stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart from turning unto the LORD, the God of
 14 Israel. Moreover all the chiefs of the priests, and the people, trespassed very greatly after all the abominations of the heathen; and they polluted the house of the LORD

10. at the return of the year: i. e. the spring campaigning season.

Zedekiah his brother: from 2 Kings xxiv. 17 we learn that he was really Jehoiachin's uncle, a younger son of Josiah.

xxxvi. 11-21. *Reign of Zedekiah.* The concluding reign in Judean history was one of vacillation. The king leaned now to the local party and now toward submission to Babylon. For awhile he plotted with the neighbouring states and then openly revolted from Babylon. Thereupon the city was besieged by the Chaldean army, and after eighteen months a breach was made in the walls. The king's attempt to escape proved abortive; he was captured and sent in chains to Babylon, while Jerusalem was devastated. The overthrow of Jerusalem is usually dated 587 B. C. (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. 21).

11. Zedekiah reigned from 597 to 587 B. C.

12. before Jeremiah: the great prophet's ministry continued in Jerusalem throughout this reign, while Ezekiel meantime laboured among the exiles on the Chebar.

13. had made him swear by God: Zedekiah violated his solemn oath of allegiance.

14. polluted the house of the LORD: Ezekiel, in one of his visions, describes the superstitions and heathen rites practised by all classes of the community.

which he had hallowed in Jerusalem. And the LORD, ¹⁵ the God of their fathers, sent to them by his messengers, rising up early and sending ; because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place : but they ¹⁶ mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and scoffed at his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD arose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chal- ¹⁷ deans, who slew their young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man or ancient : he gave them all into his hand. And all the vessels of the ¹⁸ house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes ; all these he brought to Babylon. And they ¹⁹ burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them ²⁰ that had escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon ; and they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia : to fulfil the ²¹ word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths : *for* as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.

16. till there was no remedy : the point had been reached at which forbearance and mercy could no longer be exercised on the apostate people.

17. We have here no historic details of the siege, which is merely presented to the reader in a vivid and rhetorical figure indicating utter destruction.

xxxvi. 18-20. All the portable vessels were carried to Babylon and the historic buildings of the capital were dismantled.

20. until the reign of the kingdom of Persia : the Captivity outlasted the Babylonian dynasty.

21. threescore and ten years : in Lev. xxv. 1-7 we find the

22 [H] Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing, 23 saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD, the God of heaven, given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all his people, the LORD his God be with him, and let him go up.

law of the sabbaths of the land, for the neglect of which the Captivity was to compensate.

xxxvi. 22, 23. *The Decree of Cyrus.* These concluding verses are identical with the opening words of the Book of Ezra. They form a kind of postscript to the Judean history, and were probably allowed to stand here to show that the national history did not end in calamity. But the dividing line where the narrative of Chronicles terminates has been drawn in the very middle of a verse (Ezra i. 3). This is not, indeed, absolute proof that the Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are both the work of the same author, for verses 22, 23 may have been added from Ezra-Nehemiah by the chronicler or a later redactor; yet they afford a strong presumption towards the identity.

22. in the first year of Cyrus: the founder of the old Persian empire who wrested the Chaldean supremacy from Nabonidus by revolution, treachery, and force of arms. In 539 B.C. he entered Babylon as a conqueror. He reigned from 538 to 529 B.C. In the year 538 B.C. he issued his edict permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem.

INDEX

- Aaron, 151.
 Abiathar, 114.
 Abijah, 234.
 Abishai, 96, 130.
 Abraham, 38.
 Adam, 36.
 Adullam, 94, 228.
 Ahab, 250.
 Ahaz, 286, 289.
 Ahaziah, 262, 266.
 Ahijah, 46, 159, 225.
 Ahitophel, 165.
 Alamothe, 115.
 Algum trees, 183.
 Almug trees, 183.
 Amasai, 100.
 Amaziah, 277.
 Ammon, 132, 257.
 Amon, 311.
 Angel, 140.
 Apostasy, 279.
 Ariel, sons of, 96.
 Ark, 66.
 — removal of, 105, 112.
 Army, 161.
 Asa, 238.
 Asahel, 162.
 Asaph, 118, 121, 155.
 Asaphites, 118, 155.
 Ascent of Ziz, 259.
 Asher, 75.
 Asherim, 238.
 Assyria, 289, 297.
 Athaliah, 264, 266.
 Authorship of Chronicles, 10.
 Azariah, 241, 267, 284, 301.
 Baalah, 108.
 Baasha, 238.
 Beer-sheba, 138.
 Benaiah, 96.
 Benhadad, 245.
 Benjamites, 76.
 Beracah, 261.
 Beth-lehem, 228.
 Beth-shemesh, 289.
 Bezalel, 45, 178.
 Boaz, 192.
 Caleb, 43.
 Calebites, 47, 53.
 Candlesticks, 194.
 Captivity, 60, 79, 222.
 Carchemish, 321.
 Census, 137.
 Chariot, 169, 180.
 Chelubai, 43.
 Cherethites, 131.
 Cherubim, 169, 189.
 Chidon, 108.
 Chronicles, authors of, 10
 — Book of, 3.
 — chronology of, 31.
 — contents, 6.
 Courts of Temple, 209.
 Covenant, 91, 235.
 Cubit, 188.
 Cyrus, 4, 326.
 Dagon, 89.
 Damascus, 129, 290.
 Dan, 138, 245.
 Daniel, 49.
 Daric, 171.
 David, 48, 85.
 Dedication of Temple, 197, 208.
 Devoted, 42.
 Discovery of Law, 248.
 Discrepancies, 17.
 Door-keepers, 157.
 Dreams, 177, 210.
 Drove, 180.

Edom, 39, 277, 289.
 Egypt, 181, 209.
 Eliakim, 322.
 Elijah, 265.
 Eloth, 281.
 Engedi, 257.
 Ephraim, 73.
 Esar-haddon, 309.
 Esau, 39.
 Ethiopians, 239.
 Ezion-geber, 215.

Footstool, 220.
 Fortifications, 227, 247.

Gad, 59, 140.
 Gath, 128.
 Gedor, 56.
 Genealogies, 36.
 Gershon, 148.
 Gibeon, 177.
 Gihon, 307.
 Gilboa, 88.
 Goliath, 136.
 Gozan, 62.

Hagrites, 59.
 Hamath, 108, 130.
 Hanani, 245.
 Hanun, 132.
 Haroeh, 48.
 Hazarmaveth, 38.
 Hebron, 47, 91.
 Heroes, David's, 93.
 Hezekiah, 291.
 Hezron, 42.
 High-places, 177, 244.
 High-priests, 62, 67.
 Hilkiash, 313.
 Hinnom, Valley of, 287.
 Hiram, 110.
 Hold, the, 99.
 Holy Place, 188.
 Horses, 221.
 Huldah, 315.
 Huppim, 72.

Huram, 182.
 Hiram-abi, 184.

Iddo, 233.
 Isaiah, 281, 284.
 Israel, 39, 119.
 Issachar, 71, 104.

Jabesh-gilead, 89.
 Jachin, 192.
 Jahaziel, 259.
 Jair, 137.
 Jashobeam, 162.
 Jechoniah, 50.
 Jehoahaz, 280, 322.
 Jehoiachin, 323.
 Jehoiada, 103.
 Jehoiakim, 323.
 Jehoram, 263.
 Jehoshabeath, 268.
 Jehoshaphat, 247.
 Jehovah, 93.
 Jehu, 255.
 Jerahmeel, 43, 45, 46.
 Jeremiah, 315.
 Jerioth, 44.
 Jeroboam, 223.
 Jerusalem, 92.
 Jezreel, 267.
 Joash, 272, 279.
 Josiah, 312.
 Jotham, 285.
 Judah, 41, 52.

Kenan, 37.
 Kenites, 48.
 Kirjath-jearim, 108.
 Kohathites, 65, 149.
 Korahites, 99.

Lachish, 228, 281.
 Lamentations, 322.
 Latter Prophets, 3.
 Law, 145, 248.
 Lebanon, house of, 219.
 Levites, 65, 82, 107, 153, 269.
 Levitical cities, 68.

- Libnah, 264.
 Lubim, 231.
 Machir, 45.
 Manasseh, 61, 73, 308.
 Medeba, 133.
 Megiddo, 321.
 Merarites, 65, 149.
 Meunim, 257, 260.
 Micaiah, 234, 251.
 Michal, 117.
 Midrash, 25, 257.
 Millo, 92.
 Moab, 55.
 Moriah, 186.
 Most holy house, 189.
 Mulberry trees, 112.
 Music, 114, 154.
 Nadab, 151.
 Nahash, 132.
 Nahshon, 44.
 Name, 108.
 Naphtali, 72.
 Nathan, 123, 201.
 Nebuchadnezzar, 65, 323.
 Necho, 321.
 Nethinim, 80.
 Noah, 37.
 Obed-edom, 109, 122, 158.
 Oded, 241, 288.
 Ophel, 285.
 Ophir, 216.
 Oracle, 190.
 Ornan, 140.
 Palace, 181.
 Parbar, 159.
 Parvaim, 189.
 Pas-dammim, 94.
 Passover, 296, 317.
 Pekah, 287.
 Pelethites, 131.
 Perez-uzza, 109.
 Philistines, 87.
 Poetry, 101, 200.
 Porch, 188.
 Porters, 82.
 Prayer, 126, 202.
 Priests, 81.
 Prophets, 225, 241, 255.
 Psalms, 119, 207.
 Pul, 61.
 Queen of Sheba, 216.
 Rabbah, 135.
 Ram, 43.
 Ramoth-gilead, 250.
 Rehoboam, 223, 226.
 Reuben, 57.
 Revolt of tribes, 222.
 Rezin, 287.
 Sacrifices, 214.
 Samaria, 279.
 Samuel, 66.
 Satan, 137.
 Saul, 76, 84.
 Sea of brass, 130, 192.
 Seir, 39.
 Sennacherib, 303.
 Septuagint, 30.
 Sharon, 165.
 Shavsha, 131.
 Shechem, 223.
 Shekel, 146.
 Shemaiah, 227.
 Sheminith, 115.
 Shenazzar, 50.
 Shields, 219.
 Shihor, 107.
 Shishak, 231.
 Shuppim, 159.
 Simeon, 55.
 Solomon, 144, 176.
 Spirit, 168.
 Sukkim, 231.
 Syrian wars, 132, 276, 287.
 Syrians, 276.
 Tabernacle, 198.
 Tables, 194.

Tadmor, 213.
Talent, 145.
Tarshish ships, 220.
Tax of Moses, 273.
Temple, 145, 185.
— music, 114, 154.
Tekoa, 45, 228.
The Thirty, 97.
The Three, 93.
Tibhath, 130.
Tilgath-pilneser, 58, 61, 290.
Tribal raids, 57, 76.

Uriah, 98.
Uzziah, 281.

Valley of Salt, 130.

Well of Beth-lehem, 95.
Worship, 121, 173.

Zadok, 103, 114, 122.
Zechariah, 275, 282.
Zedekiah, 50, 324.
Zemaraim, 234.
Zephathah, 240.
Zerah, 42, 239.
Zerubbabel, 50.
Ziklag, 98.
Zion, 198.
Zobah, 129.

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